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Further Reportage on 44th CEMA Session

Strougal Gives Speech

AU1107133188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jul 88 p 4

["From" the speech by CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal, delivered on the opening day of the 44th CEMA session in Prague on 5 July]

[Text] Regarding the assessment of CEMA's activity in the past period, the Czechoslovak side shares the view of a number of the heads of delegations that the practical results which we have achieved since the Bucharest meeting in 1986 do not correspond to the effort made.

The course aimed at accelerated restructuring of the CEMA mechanism of cooperation and socialist economic integration and activity has, unfortunately, yielded only partial fruits. Therefore, we join those delegations that regard the resolution of the 43d session as only the first step in the realization of our plans.

We have lost enough time trying to agree on a specific course of action details on a multilateral basis, and we also know that the economic development in the individual member countries, as well as the specific nature of reforms and their course, create a differing platform vis-a-vis the concrete questions which we have been putting forward in CEMA. Czechoslovakia intends to respect these differing conditions and prerequisites for resolving collective questions. However, we too are pressed by our situation and, especially, by time, to proceed faster in integrating, and therefore we will strive for the realization of some plans either among interested states or even bilaterally.

In assessing the activity of the bodies, I would like to address in greater detail the new, and in the future dominant, part of their work. What I have in mind are the fundamental stipulations of the 43d session that say that in the future the activity of CEMA and its bodies should be oriented toward organizing cooperation by seeking, substantiating, and determining strategic and conceptual solutions for scientific-technical problems on intergovernmental level.

In comparison with the extent of the CEMA bodies' work to date, this is narrower, but at the same time a demanding turn. This turn calls for a complete change in the content of their activity, including the Secretariat's activity, as well as for a reorganization of CEMA's rear area [zazemi] in the individual member states. Therefore, we agree with the submitted proposals for a further simplification of the structure of the bodies of our organization and do not regard this process as closed.

From the overwhelmingly operational [operativni], branch problems of CEMA bodies, we are moving on to cooperation which must be founded on a clarification and shaping of the member states' long-term attitudes to fundamental questions of common interest. Restructuring the socialist division of labor and the mechanism of cooperation is what the Czechoslovak side considers to be the main task now. Deepening long-term planning, making use of money-market relations, developing analytical and forecasting work with the objective of substantiating the selection of key questions that we are to resolve jointly are the demands that are now coming to the fore in CEMA's activity.

In our view, the framework of the strategic aspects of CEMA activity should, above all, consist of these spheres of problems.

As the most important of these we regard the range of questions that we could describe as the effort to comprehensively raise the technological and technical-economic standard of the community.

Politically and economically this is a sphere of problems of primary importance, for the solution of which we have worked out the Comprehensive Program for Scientific-Technical Progress Through the Year 2000. Now a package of big special-purpose technical and technological programs for breakthroughs in the spheres of science and technology is being prepared.

We can say that although CEMA already has its strategic program in this first and key sector, the standard of its realization still does not correspond to needs. Analyses have shown that we are encountering serious economic problems here, which are caused by barriers in national mechanisms, as well as in the mechanisms of cooperation and integration. It is logical that these matters came on the agenda, and for the Czechoslovak side I would like to stress that the economic mechanisms of the individual states, as well as the mechanism at which we want to arrive in CEMA, should be planned to respect objective economic laws with the intention of converging these mechanisms. This will make it possible for the effect they have to more efficiently mobilize the untapped potential and resources we have in this sphere.

In the second sector, in our opinion, there are the questions of an effective international socialist division of labor, and a future-oriented structural policy of the member countries.

What we have in mind here are problems connected with the still dragging transformation of our economies to intensive development, and questions in which—in 5 years—we still have not achieved significant success by means of the existing coordination of national-economic plans and international specialization and cooperation of production. As a solution we see the consistent updating of the collective Concept of the International Division of Labor, the draft of which is ready and has been submitted.

The third sector of questions of a strategic nature, which, in our view, CEMA ought to address, are problems connected with the comprehensive development of the human factor, the main component for the acceleration of socialist construction.

What I mean is cooperation in the specialized training of manpower, including retraining and movement among the member countries, issues of cooperation in health care, urbanization, and ecology. A part of this sector consists of other fields of the nonproduction sphere, such as services, including computer science; simply everything that directly concerns man and his social-legal motivation in the full extent of this strategic question.

Here, unfortunately, the cooperation among our states is still minimal. It should develop more markedly and faster in the future. The approach to these things presupposes a synthesis of a new economic and sociopolitical attitude to this matter. These are exceptionally momentous questions with a very sensitive impact, and some fraternal parties and countries have had their first experience in this respect already.

Therefore, I propose that we exchange views on these problems next year—outside the agenda of the 45th CEMA session. The Executive Committee could prepare the necessary documentation, and even use the findings and suggestions of the Economics of the World Socialist System Institute.

The fourth sector of questions that should constitute the framework for the new orientation of CEMA activity are questions which—in their totality—could be described as care for the development of an efficient mechanism of cooperation and socialist economic integration.

Already at the 43d session we jointly formulated objectives for this sector which are to be incorporated in the tasks of the individual stages of restructuring.

On principle we think that we should proceed conceptually and comprehensively. Therefore, we recommend a proposal to set up an international group of experts from the member countries to draw up a composite concept for restructuring the mechanism of integration.

As far as Czechoslovakia is concerned, we are prepared to test new forms, methods, and ways of cooperation with anyone ready and willing for such experiments, to evaluate them, and place the acquired experience at the disposal of all member states. In this respect we have already agreed with the Soviet Union on a joint program of work for 1988 - 90.

Czechoslovakia's interest in the new perception of CEMA's activity arises from the fact that the country's projected development is contingent upon clear progress in making use of the results of science and technology, the international division of labor and, in particular, upon structural changes in material production.

All these are reasons which lead us to seek new ways to effectively deepen our participation in the socialist division of labor. We count with the fact that in this way it will be possible to a considerable extent to optimalize our production and make better use of qualified manpower. In the interest of achieving this we are resolved to converge our internal mechanism of management with the mechanism of the integration of cooperation. We proceed from the position that the profile of the Czechoslovak economy's specialization will form itself overwhelmingly in the process of cooperation with the other CEMA countries. The CSSR party and state leadership regards the task of creating new room for direct cooperation between scientific and economic organizations of our countries to be an integral part of this picture in CEMA's activity. I think that precisely in the observed period there was a better understanding of direct relations and further new forms of cooperation, even though here too we are only at the beginning.

We see in the new forms of cooperation an important factor to assist with carrying out microstructural changes in the economy and contribute to the adaptation of the structures of the member states' production complexes. Despite their complexity, we started making use of direct relations in the realization of projects of the Comprehensive Program for Scientific-Technical Progress as well as creating links for long-term cooperation and specialization between enterprises.

Despite the fact that certain legal and organizational prerequisites for the new forms and methods of integrated cooperation have been created in principle, it can be seen that the majority of direct relations between organizations were established not on the initiative of the enterprises, but at the behest of the center, and only about one-third of them concern production cooperation.

Quite unequivocally and logically, the game must contain economic conditions and money-market relations, which motivate the activity of enterprises that have begun working on the principles of full economic accountability and self-financing. One has begun taking into consideration economic efficiency which, however, in a number of proposals for direct cooperation is difficult to satisfactorily calculate. We are encountering great differences in domestic prices, exchange rate relations are distorted, and the situation is complicated by the individual economies' levies' and tax and regulations. Economic calculations are still being distorted by covert subsidies within the framework of the national economies. The solution of these urgent and complicated problems constitutes the main vehicle for the development of direct production cooperation in our community.

Some of the member countries have already begun to overcome these barriers. Of course, one has to realize that these are complex tasks which need a certain time. Czechoslovakia signed an agreement with the USSR on

billing commitments arising from direct relations in national currencies. It is being assumed that the exchange rate relations and problems connected with prices will be resolved in tandem. Our adjustment of wholesale prices, which will go into effect on 1 January 1989, will, without doubt, contribute to the reduction of the existing unrealistic relations as regards contract prices.

Although the report submitted by the Executive Committee depicts the activity of our organization clearly, our opinion is that it lacks a view of the real position of the member countries in the world economy. We lack the necessary comparison with the fundamental trends of the movement in the technical, technological, and economic development. This aspect must be regarded as decisive.

CEMA's activity is to be oriented, first, toward the strategic and comprehensive questions of our mutual cooperation, and second, by establishing official relations with the EEC, our activity will move onto a broader international platform. The external environment has a considerable and increasing influence on CEMA bodies as well as on the individual member states. Therefore, it is necessary—within the CEMA framework—to overcome the hitherto certain isolation from economic developments in the world and their criteria, since this distorts the view of the effectiveness of our common activity. We are convinced that this demand is fully justified and the Executive Committee should take the necessary measures in that respect. It should do the necessary work.

We simply must look at a number of things more realistically, look the economic truth in eye. This also applies to the sphere of technical standardization, whose role in the world economy is growing. The realization of the Comprehensive Program for Scientific Progress, especially in the second priority direction—in comprehensive automation—already today indicates that the existing starting points for cooperation in technical standardization and the way it is being practiced do not suffice. Our opinion is that one has to overcome the autarchy of the standardization policy within CEMA, and in the future proceed in such a way as to interpret the common standardization activity as an integral part of international technical standardization. It is also necessary to reassess the principles contained in the statute on the CEMA norm [statut normy RVHP], particularly the principle of unanimity when approving norms. It is also necessary to increase the activity of CEMA and its member states in international standardization organizations. Therefore, I propose that the Executive Committee address the problem and submit the necessary proposals to the 45th CEMA session.

The situation that has come into being in the member countries' mutual trade, in which there is a trend toward stagnation, is causing concern. We consider it a mistake that the report on CEMA activity for the latest period does not contain any attempt at an in-depth analysis of this situation. The proposed solutions are very general, and in our view they do not go to the root of the causes. This applies, in particular, to the problem concerning the structure of goods and a critical assessment of the technical standard and quality of products in mutual foreign trade. This is where we must look for solutions. We presume that the Committees for External Economic Relations and Planning will develop greater initiative for overcoming the present state of affairs on the basis of the agreed program of action.

Stoph Gives Address

AU0707121388 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Jul 88 p 2

[Report on speech by Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, at the 44th CEMA Meeting in Prague on 5 July: "The GDR Is Making an Important Contribution to Implementing the Complex Program"]

[Text] At the beginning Willi Stoph expressed deep satisfaction about the fact that a change for the better is becoming discernible in international relations. With the ratification of the Treaty between the USSR and the United States on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles a first step was made toward a world without nuclear weapons and violence. A historic system of treaties entered into force that has set new guidelines for the reduction of all weapons.

"The insight that in the nuclear space age security cannot be achieved against each other but only through cooperation is growing worldwide. All problems, no matter how complicated they are, must be settled exclusively through political means by taking the legitimate interests of those concerned into consideration. Reason and realism must prevail: This is the policy of the Warsaw Pact states in the nuclear space age," Stoph pointed out.

The chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers stressed: "The GDR considers the active contribution to safeguarding peace the core of its policy of dialogue and cooperation. As a reliable alliance partner, it will do everything it can in bilateral and multilateral relations to tangibly contribute to implementing our community's peace strategy. The course and the results of the international meeting on nuclear-free zones in Berlin in June have lent fresh impetus to the struggle for peace and disarmament."

New Quality of Growth Through High Technologies [subhead]

Referring to the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, Willi Stoph emphasized that the acceleration of socioeconomic development in the USSR is of great significance for the country of Lenin and for the standing of socialism in the world. The communists, the people of the GDR, will continue to do everything in their power to comprehensively strengthen the unshakable fraternal alliance

with the country and the party of Lenin. He confirmed that the GDR workers will continue to make their contribution to strengthening socialism and safeguarding peace by further shaping the developed socialist society.

In this context, the speaker mentioned further tasks concerning cooperation among CEMA countries and stated that the GDR is in favor of establishing a joint market of the CEMA countries. He reaffirmed the GDR's readiness to actively participate in the required examinations concerning the prerequisites and conditions, as was decided by the 43d CEMA session.

Willi Stoph then reported on the results that the GDR has achieved during the past 2 years in implementing the sociopolitical course adopted by the 11th SED Congress. A new quality of economic growth has been obtained. "Particularly the increase in labor productivity and the reduction of energy and material consumption are decisively determined by the development and utilization of modern key technologies, such as microelectronics and computer technology, biotechnology, and the creation of flexible automated production sections."

The chairman of the Council of Ministers stated: "The struggle to master key technologies in the GDR combines is completely in keeping with the realization of the tasks of the CEMA Comprehensive Program f Scientific-Technological Progress. The obligations resulting from the CEMA Comprehensive Program for the GDR are firm components of its plans and balance sheets."

Microelectronics is the most important factor in achieving top-level scientific-technological performances. The speaker elaborated on results that have been obtained in this sphere in the GDR. Great efforts are being made to develop components and devices of modern digital communications technology, including optical fiber technology, and to organize their production. Through the production start of a 32-bit computer and other equipment and programming devices, the GDR has made an important contribution to implementing the comprehensive program in the sphere of computer technology.

The further tasks of the member countries in realizing the CEMA Comprehensive Program make it necessary to further accelerate the current pace of development. It is important to catch up with and co-determine international top standards in a number of decisive fields within a short period of time.

The GDR has established direct links between microelectronics and machine construction. This is a decisive precondition for ensuring the marketablity of the products of machine construction in the international market.

Coordination of 1991-95 Plans of Great Importance [subhead]

Willi Stoph mentioned examples of how the GDR is fulfilling its obligations that result from the CEMA Program for Scientific-Technological Progress. "The technological equipment for very large-scale integration in microelectronics that was developed in the GDR, the personal computers and devices of the integrated system of electronic computer technology, products of fiber cable technology, flexible automated production systems, as well as equipment for modern processing technology and for biotechnology have aroused interest and met with appreciation among the partners in the CEMA countries."

The GDR considers the contractual delivery of high-quality export products an important precondition for ensuring the long-term imports, particularly raw material imports, as agreed on with the USSR and the other CEMA member countries. "In view of the high degree of intertwining between the USSR's national economy and the other CEMA member countries, the GDR considers stability and regularity to be of extraordinary significance in mutual foreign trade relations. The concept of the international socialist division of labor, which is to be adopted by this meeting, provides important guidelines for this," Willi Stoph pointed out.

From this results the special importance of the coordination of the plans for the 1991-95 period. It is a question of comprehensively determining the tasks in science, technology and production up to the mutual exchange of goods. In the GDR the combines are actively involved in this process.

In accordance with the stipulations of the 43d (Extraordinary) CEMA Meeting, the GDR is making an active contribution to restructuring multilateral cooperation and socialist economic integration, as well as CEMA activities. In this, the common goal of linking the advantages of socialism with the utilization of the results of scientific-technological revolution is being pursued.

The chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers welcomed the participation of representatives from the Republic of Afghanistan, the People's Republic of Angola, the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Republic of Nicaragua, and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen in the meeting and stressed the joint view that it is necessary to establish increasingly close links between the struggle to overcome underdevelopment, the struggle for the just settlement of acute international economic problems and for the democratization of international economic relations, and the struggle for peace and disarmament. Only by achieving real disarmament can preconditions be created in order to resolve the decisive problems that developing countries are facing. The GDR will continue to support all efforts that are aimed at peace and security and to defend every people's right to independence and sovereignty, to an independent development.

Approval of the Resolution [subhead]

Willi Stoph stated: "The stormy development of scientific-technological progress opens up new perspectives for the worldwide expansion of trade and cooperation. The GDR is interested in both continuing tested forms of cooperation and seeking new ways. This cooperation is for the benefit of all those concerned if all attempts of discrimination, all boycott and embargo measures, disappear from international economic relations. For this reason, the GDR is in favor of eliminating all obstacles in international trade.

"The establishment of official links between the CEMA and EC, and between the CEMA states and the EC, is in keeping with the requirements of our time. It takes into account the realities that exist in Europe and opens up new opportunities for the shaping of East-West economic relations."

In conclusion Willi Stoph, on behalf of the GDR delegation, expressed approval of the resolution suggested by the CEMA meeting on the next cooperation steps.

Grosz Discusses Economic Cooperation With CEMA

AU1307101688 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 4 Jul 88 p 5

[Interview with MSZMP General Secretary and Premier Karoly Grosz by Economic Correspondent Istvan Matko: "Full Convertibility Inside CEMA"—in Budapest on 2 July]

[Text] Following the meeting with enterprise leaders in the parliament, our correspondent Istvan Matko asked Karoly Grosz to express his opinion on the relations between Hungary and the socialist integration, with a view to the CEMA session in Prague.

[Matko] How do you evaluate Hungary's relations with CEMA?

[Grosz] Our economic cooperation with CEMA has always played a decisive role in our international economic relations, and will continue to do so. This is reflected by the fact that, the proportion of the CEMA member countries in Hungary's foreign trade is still 50 percent on the basis of value relations between the dollar and the transferrable ruble used in Hungary. If we take the exchange rate of the transferrable ruble used by the CEMA member countries' joint bank, the International Bank of Economic Cooperation, the aforementioned proportion has reached 70 percent of our foreign trade at the beginning of 1988, which is among the highest figures within the CEMA. Beyond these figures, our relations with CEMA play a much greater role in our economic development.

[Matko] Precisely due to the problems of cooperation, many people have been thinking in recent years that CEMA is decreasing in importance. The enterprises reported on certain difficulties at this meeting too.

[Grosz] However, it is in our basic economic interest to guarantee imports of basic products for our people's economy from the CEMA countries in the future too, and if possible to increase these imports. We should discover new import opportunities among the processing industry products too, by carrying out a better market research and developing the direct contacts between our enterprises! At the same time, we should stick to the implementation of our interests and the fulfillment of requirements for modern products and a high level of technology. However, we must also be aware of the fact that, in this sphere, as elsewhere too, the conditions of cooperation are changing rapidly and better products are required, and therefore, all the CEMA member countries are striving to improve the effectiveness of their foreign economic relations. Thus, in the future, we will have to take into account the fact that the contractual prices used within the CEMA will increasingly reflect real world market prices and will follow their fluctuations, and consequently, we will be able to lay the foundations of an effective foreign trade on the CEMA market only by actually increasing our economic performance.

It is my general conviction that we will be able to advance in our cooperation—on both a bilateral and multilateral basis—only if we provide goods that are adequate both in terms of quantity and quality. In order to achieve this goal, first of all we must increase domestic performance. We need a change in the assortment of our goods for export, a change in the direction of increasing the proportion of goods that can be exported effectively and without the use of price subsidies. Of course, this does not mean that we do not have to renew the mechanism and means of our system of economic integration. Discovering and deliberately applying the resources inherent in this economic integration are preconditions for individual member countries to produce more goods of better quality and at more favorable prices, and the enterprises' meeting also dealt with this. Therefore, in my opinion, a radical reorganization of our socialist economic cooperation is a task of pressing necessity. This cooperation has undeniable results too, and we can rely on them in the future. Unfortunately, so far, the mechanism of our cooperation has focused primarily on defending ourselves against world market changes, and not on preparing ourselves and adjusting to the irreversible and actually progressive changes. Thus, we actually isolated ourselves from the effects that would have forced us to advance more rapidly, and we preserved our lag behind.

I think it is realistic to suppose that, both on the CEMA market and on the broader world market, the differences in the quality and technological level of products will

gradually disappear and the conditions and requirements of economic relations will increasingly become identical. I consider it extremely important for Hungary to prepare in time for this irreversible process.

[Matko] At their meeting in Moscow held 1 and ½ years ago, the party leaders of the CEMA member countries decided to renew their economic integration. They agreed that no qualitative change could be achieved without a consistent broadening of relations between goods and money as soon as possible....

[Grosz] We continue to hold the same view. In our view, the qualitative further development of the CEMA countries' system of mutual accounting, and the development of the monetary functions of the transferrable ruble are the key issues of intensifying our multilateral economic relations. Therefore, our principles and positions have not changed. A partial transformation of the transferrable ruble into a convertible currency, and later—following the development of necessary conditions—the introduction of full convertibility of this transferrable ruble will be decisive elements in this process. These measures will be able to eliminate the present contradiction which derives from the fact that we were unable to actually introduce multilateral accounting, and the member countries continued to stick to bilateral settling of accounts, and thus, a balance in accounts is often created by restricting mutual exports rather than by making use of our real export potentials.

Based on such a convertible currency system, we should also develop the sphere of credits in our cooperation and eliminate the current—in fact inevitable—system of credits, and create the conditions of an independent credit market detached from the movement of goods. In our opinion, it is impossible to implement a uniform CEMA market and we cannot advance in implementing other advanced proposals of the member countries without developing the currency and financial sphere of our cooperation.

[Matko] What is your opinion about the historic agreement between CEMA and the EEC?

[Grosz] It is important that the development of socialist cooperation should not lead to regional isolation but, on the contrary, to the broadening of our relations with the other regions of the world, with both the economically developed and developing countries, contributing thus to halting and reversing the process of our relative lagging behind the world economic development. The efforts aimed at creating and developing the relations between CEMA and the EEC reflect this endeavor. We regard the statement on the establishment of relations between the two organizations as an important step in creating a mutually advantageous cooperation and in broadening the East-West dialogue.

Romania Seeks Social Welfare Agenda at CSCE

AU0407131188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0919 GMT 4 Jul 88

["A Constructive Stand at the All-European Meeting in Vienna"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 4/7/1988—Taking account of the grave issues in Europe and the world over as regards the fundamental human rights, of the worry shown by large categories of population for their material and social condition, as a result of unemployment, housing shortage, illiteracy and various economic, political and social inequalities, Romania has proposed that the final document of the Vienna meeting should stipulate measures and commitments by the participant states, meant to help settling these grave issues in the observance of human rights. Romania proposed that the countries participant in the meeting should commit themselves to provide the necessary conditions for education, for the youth's training, so that they may deploy useful activity in society and turn to good advantage their creative capability, and the youth should be ensured jobs and assignment to economic and social activity in keeping with their training.

Romania also proposes that the final document include the provision that the participant states will ensure for every citizen a job in keeping with his training, so that he may earn the necessary material means for a decent living, in keeping with the requirements of the present-day social progress, and may take best advantage of his physical and intellectual skills, as well as the provision that the participating states should pledge not to encourage emigration and to give up the alluring of specialized cadres from other countries, to collaborate for the training of cadres in various domains needed by the less developed states.

Romania also proposed the working out and implementation in every country of a program ensuring for every family the least of housing conditions by 2000.

The final document of the Vienna meeting ought also to comprise the participant states' commitment to ensure jobs for women according to their training and capability, as well as equal pay with men for similar activities, and other rights that should allow women's full and actual participation in social and political life.

Presenting these proposals, Romania thinks that the securing of the fundamental human rights, the turning to advantage of people's creative capabilities make an essential requirement of economic, social and political progress in the present-day world, a duty of every state. The accomplishment of this requirement demands close collaboration among all states participant in the Vienna meeting, in the economic, technological, scientific, cultural and other fields, as well as the broad promotion with the public opinion and especially with the young people of the ideals of peace, progress and collaboration, of understanding and mutual regard among peoples. This also calls for the participant states to strictly observe the principles of non-interference in other countries' domestic affairs, of national independence and sovereignty, of every state's right to settle its issues by itself, in keeping with its internal conditions, with the country's Constitution and law, with its traditions and national specific.

Romania considers that the provisions of the Final Act of Helsinki and of the Madrid document make a framework fit for the building of security and further development of cooperation in Europe and that there is no need for each new European meeting to endorse bulky documents that should repeat in their larger part, provisions already included in the previous document.

Conference Unveils USSR's Capitalist 'Essence'

AU0907151288 Tirana ATA in English
0740 GMT 9 Jul 88

["'The 19th Conference of the CPSU and Its Reforms in the Political System'-Article of the Newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, July 9 (ATA)—The 19th extraordinary conference of the party was held in Moscow these days. It discussed and adopted decisions for the strengthening and development of perestroyka and to make it, as Gorbachev says, "irreversible", Shaban Murati writes among others in the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT. The conference approved 6 resolutions which contain measures for the reformation of the political system, for glasnost, legal reform, for the relations among the nationalities etc.

In fact the political system in the Soviet Union changed its essence, nature from socialist to capitalist since the Khrushchevite revisionists came to power. But it still retained its old appearances, which suited the new bourgeoisie to deceive the working masses. Gorbachev's reform consecrated in the conference and its decisions finally destroys those political structures that had remained, be they formally, from the old socialist order. It openly and officially aims at creating a new system to respond to the demands and strategy of perestroyka, for the transition into the political system identical with the bourgeois system of the capitalist developed countries and with parliamentary traditions. Here are to be found the reasons of that great enthusiasm the 19th conference and its reforms and decisions aroused among all the reactionary political forces and currents in the world.

The extraordinary conference of the Soviet party was highly evaluated for the spirit of debate and for the pluralism of the views expressed. In his closing speech Gorbachev presented this as a "revival of the Leninist spirit that has never occurred over 60 years" and as a result of glasnost undertaken by him. The various viewpoints of the speakers on the rates and methods of perestroyka's application have and can have nothing in common with the so much known Leninist democracy and debate. The Leninist spirit cannot be measured by the number of debates and objections, but first and foremost by the viewpoints expressed, reforms demanded and whom do they serve to.

Gorbachev seeks to speculate through the formal side of the conference, but everything it discussed and decided upon the political system and all the other things, not only did not comply with, but completely ran contrary to Lenin, the Leninist spirit and principles.

One of the main decisions of the conference is to reduce the role of the party only in the political and ideological field, so that it does not run the state power, be not engaged in the economic problems etc, be turned merely into a factor of orientating and educating, into an organization indulged only in loquacity as many parties in the west. This is much the same with the role and functions of the Communist League of Yugoslavia from which Gorbachev is inspired.

But concerning this question, there exists a great contradiction. While on one side it is demanded that the party should not run the power, economy etc, on the other side it was decided that the first secretaries of the party committees be at the same time heads of the soviets, that is be placed at the head of the power's organs. In fact this means that the party should not run and control the power, but be put under its orders, be transformed into one of its levers.

As seems Gorbachev needs this reform to consolidate his political positions and personal power, because as general secretary of the party he will also be president of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union. The president will have large competences and will exert full control over the drafting of important social and economic laws and programs, will decide on the foreign policy questions, for the defense and security, will preside over the Council of Defense, will assign the chairman of the Council of Ministers etc. In other words he will have more or less those competences and functions as many presidents in the Western countries.

The presidential system the conference decided upon, neither deepens the democracy, nor eliminates the cult of individual, against which there was raised such a great clamor at the conference; on the contrary, it cultivates it, because Gorbachev becomes omnipotent. He also needed it to be surer in carrying out his mission, to avoid the threat of a putsch in the party.

This is also the target of the procedures of the creation of the new state organs. In the elections to the Congress of the People's Deputies, whose creation was decided at the conference, will not take part the whole people. 750 out of 2250 of its deputies, Gorbachev's most trusted men will be elected in the party's apparatuses, mass organizations etc. In the Supreme Soviet that will consist of a limited number of deputies, 400-500 persons, will be elected from the Congress of the People's Deputies, the same persons to be proposed by Gorbachev. Effectively the Supreme Soviet with its two houses will be like the parliament in the West, constantly functioning, as the Congress of the Deputies will convene only once a year.

The attacks against Stalin and the socialist system built by the Soviet people in his time savagely continued at the 19th pan-Soviet conference. It decided to erect in Moscow a monument to the so-called victims of the cult of the individual and Stalin's repressions, hence, devoted to all the traitors, counterrevolutionaries, and enemies of socialism in the Soviet Union. There remained no enemy and ragtag without being rehabilitated and now it's even Trotskiy's turn.

One of the topics discussed at the conference and for which a respective resolution was adopted, was the grave national crisis that has broken out in the Soviet Union. Despite the attempts to find out its causes in the distant past up to the policy followed by Lenin, the conference could not adopt or suggest any concrete measure.

In a sign of protest to this stand, these days following the conference, there have been staged large scale demonstrations in Armenia and dissatisfaction has also swept over the other republics of the Soviet Union.

The reforms in the political system are undertaken three years after the perestroyka, the setting forth of the ideas, and the efforts to apply it in the field of economy, culture and information, but as it was stated at the conference, except glasnost, which opened its doors to all the anti-communist and counterrevolutionary elements to slander and furiously attack everything sound, socialist, and revolutionary that existed in the history and life of the Soviet Union, in the other fields, perestroyka is restrained and has not yielded the expected results. Precisely in order to open the road to perestroyka toward the privatization of economy, there were undertaken the reforms in the political system. The political superstructure, as a stimulating factor for the strengthening and development of the new economic base must also be adapted to it.

The new society, "the new model of socialism" which Gorbachev seek to build is but a new model of the capitalist society. His demagogy cannot deceive the genuine Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries, who consider and evaluate perestroyka not as a revolution in a revolution, as Gorbachev seeks to present it, but as a counterrevolution in counterrevolution.

Alia Extols Armed Forces on Their Anniversary

AU1007135388 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Message of greetings by Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary and supreme commander, addressed to the Armed Forces on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of their creation—recorded]

[Text] Comrade soldiers, officers, commanders, and commissars, it is a great pleasure for me, in the name of the AWP Central Committee, as it is for all the people, to greet you warmly and wish you from the bottom of the heart further successes in accomplishing the lofty mission entrusted to you by the people in defending the country, its freedom, and its independence.

The date of 10 July 1943 represents one of the most memorable events of the National Liberation War and one of the foundation stones that secured Albania's liberation. Following the party's founding, the creation of the Army represents the second historic achievement in the process of the national revival and of the social regeneration of the Albanian people, the clear expression of the invincible political will and combat vitality of the people, of the unextinguished hopes and invincible wish to attain the freedom, independence, and progress of the nation, and the prosperity and happiness of our people, no matter what the sacrifices and time needed, no matter what the circumstances may have been.

This outstanding historic merit belongs to the Albanian communists, to our heroic party, and to our unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha. They not only worked out the most correct and accurate strategy for the country's liberation and the establishment of the people's regime, but they were also able to discover the fundamental holds to be grasped, as well as the means to achieve these goals. Enver Hoxha's skill in creating and in organizing the National Liberation Army, in educating and in leading it, manifested itself with special farsightedness. He did not only create and organize an armed force, a weapon to win a war, but also a political weapon to establish a new authority, a social organism to strengthen the national unity of the people, and a base to defend the victories attained and to guarantee the future.

Our Army has been and remains such an institution, deeply popular and patriotic, a devoted defender of the homeland, and a factor of security and backing for the construction of socialism. The direct leadership of the party in the Army, its education in the spirit of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, its subordination to and its organic bonds with the people's authority, the revolutionizing measures in the Army, undertaken on the initiative of the party and applied under its guidance, have further preserved and strengthened these traits as sound political, ideological, and social characteristics lying at the foundation of a liberation army, at the foundation of the lofty mission entrusted to it by the people to defend the homeland and the victories of the revolution.

The party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have not only supplied the Army with the necessary equipment, but also with the people's military art. The entire political and military life in the Army takes place today on the foundations of this great and invaluable legacy. The people's military art has never been and is not a mere manual of general principles and instructions. It must be understood and applied as an instrument intended to keep alive, make grow, and perfect an organism such as the Army. It must be a source of inspiration and a stimulation to climb new heights in training and in building up military tactics, to achieve the best possible use of weapons, to get to know the terrain, as well as in the political education and ideological elevation, in strengthening the links with the people. The creative mastery and application of this art by all the personnel of the Armed Forces, its further enrichment in close relationship with the conditions of our internal development and the new situations being created in the world, with the development of the weapons, strategy, and tactics of our potential enemies, require constant attention by the party in the Army, by the commands, and by the staffs.

In our country, the Army and the people are one and indivisible. This is not only because they are united and guided by the same interests, by the same ideals of freedom, independence, and socialist construction, but also because the soldiers, workers, peasants, and intellectuals incorporated in the same military structures are training and tempering themselves politically, physically, and militarily together in order to achieve and secure these ideals.

This reality, which rarely may exist in any other country, provides our Army with a broad political function and dimension, and enables it to be at one and the same time a powerful armed force and a great social organization, as well as a center where political and ideological unity is manifested and tempered, where the pure sentiments of love for the homeland and the spirit of socialist collectivism are educated and fostered.

The party has always instructed and continues to instruct the Army that these two aspects of its mission and function, the military and sociopolitical aspects, are in complete unity and harmony, must be kept under consideration at all times, and must be constantly developed and strengthened. Following the traditions of the National Liberation War, our Army will always remain an open school where the children of the people are trained not only as devoted defenders of the homeland, but also as worthy citizens, politically mature and equipped with lofty moral virtues.

Our people, who consider the Army as one of the major victories of our revolution, cherish great affection and respect for, and are proud of it. The people have never spared themselves for its maintenance and development, and they have done everything with the greatest generosity and nobility. It is the duty of the party in the Army, of the commands, of the staffs, and of all Army personnel, that this high consideration of the people for the Army, this trust and wish of the people, be justified through its constant military and political consolidation, through the development and further elevation of training and combat-readiness, through the strengthening of discipline and order, and through the further elevation of the good name that it enjoys.

Dear comrades, the present-day world is fraught with a multitude of contradictions and dangers of all kinds, with unexpected developments and events. These complex and turbulent situations make it indispensable to strengthen vigilance, which must be permanent. At the same time it is essential to further enhance and improve it, in conformity with the developments and changes taking place in the world and around us, in conformity with the activity of the American and Soviet imperialists, and other enemies.

Vigilance does not require only a spiritual state of readiness and mobilization, a sharpening of political sentiments and class intuition; nor does it require only a strong tempering and combat-readiness. It requires also increased contemporary knowledge connected with war and defense, the perfecting of the methods of analysis and studies connected with these phenomena.

When political vigilance is combined with military knowledge, it is then transformed into an extremely powerful weapon for the defense of our socialist homeland. It is common knowledge that the consolidation of the country's defense potential is in direct relationship with its economic strengthening and cultural progress. The party and Comrade Enver have stressed continually the importance of this connection and have educated our people to consider the fulfillment of economic objectives also as a fulfillment of the defense tasks.

Therefore, may the memorable festivities of the 45th anniversary of the founding of our People's Army serve as a new stimulus to fulfill the important tasks of the state plan, to provide the homeland with as much grain, oil, minerals, and industrial products as possible, to create new cultural and artistic values that satisfy and ennoble the spirit of the people. I also express the party's wish and confidence that the soldiers, commanders, commissars, and all the personnel of our Armed Forces will go to the 10 July celebrations with the best possible results, closely bound to the party, the people's authority, and the people themselves, always vigilant and in a high state of readiness to defend the country.

On the occasion of this celebration, I would like particularly to greet the partisan veterans who, through their blood and sacrifices, laid the steel-like foundations of our Army, as well as those thousands of cadres, commissioned and non-commissioned officers, who over these 45 years have worked tirelessly and honestly to develop and modernize the Army. I would also like to wish success to all those young people who have embraced a military career, that they may march on the glorious road of their predecessors.

Happy festivities. Long live the AWP. Eternal glory to the supreme commander, founder, organizer, and great educator, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Economic Progress Report for 3-9 Jul

AU0907204188 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions from 3-9 July carries the following economic performance reports (time and date of transmission in parentheses):

Elbasan District: The "Steel of the Party" metallurgical combine reports having fulfilled the 6-month plan. (1800 GMT 3 Jul)

Gramsh District: The 6-month industrial production plan has been overfulfilled by 2 million leks. (1800 GMT 9 Jul)

Librazhd District: The 6-month industrial production plan was overfulfilled by 2 percent. (1800 GMT 5 Jul)

Lushnje District: The 6-month plan was fulfilled or overfulfilled by 26 collectives. (1800 GMT 7 Jul)

Mirdite District: The overall industrial production plan for the 6-month period was exceeded by 2.2 percent. (1800 GMT 7 Jul)

Pogradec District: The industrial production plan for the 6-month period was fulfilled. (1800 GMT 3 Jul)

Sarande District: The 6-month industrial production plan was exceeded by 10 million leks. (1800 GMT 8 Jul)

Vlore District: The overall industrial production plan for the 6-month period was exceeded by 4 million leks. (1800 GMT 4 Jul)

Leaders's Public Appearances 3-9 Jul

AU0907204088 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts from 3-9 July reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (time and date of broadcast in parentheses):

Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers; AWP Central Committee Politburo members Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Manush Myftiu, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, and Simon Stefani; AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate members Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, and Vangjel Cerrava; and Nexhmije Hoxha, AWP Central Committee member and President of the Democratic Front of Albania, attended on 7 July a ceremony held in Tirana to award the Order of the Flag to Lenka Cuko, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, and to Kico Mustaqi, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chief of the General Staff of the People's Army. (1330 GMT 7 Jul)

Foto Cami, Simon Stefani, Prokop Murra, Hekuran Isai, Vangjel Cerrava, Kico Mustaqi, and Nexhmije Hoxha attended on 5 July an academic conference at the Military Academy in Tirana to mark the 45th anniversary of the People's Army. (1800 GMT 5 Jul)

Simon Stefani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary; Rita Marko, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Hekuran Isai, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of internal affairs; and Kico Mustaqi, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and chief of the General Staff, attended on 8 July a ceremony in Tirana to award decorations and orders to a group of servicemen of the People's Army and of the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs. (1800 GMT 8 Jul)

Ramiz Alia, Adil Carcani, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, Kico Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, Vangjel Cerrava, and Nexhmije Hoxha attended on 9 July a solemn meeting held at the Palace of Brigades in Tirana to commemorate the 45th anniversary of the creation of the People's Army. (1800 GMT 9 Jul)

Gorbachev Address to Polish Sejm Viewed

LD1207145888 Prague CTK in English 1358 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Prague July 12 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia today fully supported Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal, presented in his address in the Polish parliament yesterday, for setting up a European centre for reducing the danger of war.

Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry Spokesman Dusan Rovensky said the proposal is in harmony with the aims of the Czechoslovak initiative to establish a zone of confidence along the borderline between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries, put forward in February this year.

Czechoslovakia believes that the activities of the centre could have a positive impact on removing military tension, and both countries belonging to the two groupings and other European countries interested in cooperation could participate in them, Rovensky said.

He further said the contents of the work of the European centre for reducing the danger of war and other related issues could be discussed at an international forum. The ideal soil for this could be the second stage of the Stockholm Conference, he added.

Czechoslovakia also regards as very important Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal to start a more substantial reduction of troops and armament in Europe, and to hold a meeting of leaders of all European countries that would discuss concrete measures in limiting conventional weapons. These ideas express "our interest in Europe, which was twice in this century the scene of destructive wars, becoming a continent of security and peace", Dusan Rovensky said.

Strougal Receives CPSU's Ryzhkov

AU1207174988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Jul 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Comrade Nikolay Ryzhkov Cordially Welcomed in Prague; Negotiations With Comrade Lubomir Strougal; Program of Cooperation in Nuclear Power Industry Through the Year 2000 Signed"]

[Excerpts] Prague—Nikolay Ryzhkov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, arrived on Monday [4 July] on an official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee and the CSSR Government. [passage omitted]

Talks between Premier Lubomir Strougal and Nikolay Ryzhkov were opened in Hrzan Palace.

On the Czechoslovak side they were attended by Jozef Lenart, CPCZ Central Committee secretary; Rudolf Rohlicek, CSSR first deputy premier; Jaromir Obzina, federal deputy premier; Ladislav Gerle, CSSR minister of metallurgy, engineering, and electrotechnical industry; Jan Sterba, CSSR minister of foreign trade; Jaromir Zak, CSSR minister of finance; Jaromir Johanes, first deputy minister of foreign affairs; Jan Strba, deputy chairman of the State Planning Commission; Jindrich Rehorek, CSSR ambassador to the USSR; and other figures.

The Soviet side was represented by Yuriy Maslyukov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Aleksey Antonov, Igor Belousov, and Boris Tolstykh, deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers; Boris Gostev, minister of finance; Vladislav Kolesnikov, minister of electrical engineering industry; Viktor Komplektov, deputy foreign minister; Viktor Lomakin, USSR ambassador to Czechoslovakia; and other representatives.

The heads of the two governments opened their working session by exchanging data on the course of restructuring, the economic reform, and the process of democratization in both countries. They agreed that the success of radical economic changes depends on the concurrent reform of the political system and winning the working people over for social transformations. Nikolay Ryzhkov spoke in great detail about the course and results of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which has basically contributed toward renewing the Leninist principles of party life and has taken a significant step toward emphasizing the role played in society by the Soviets as the holders of the people's legislative and executive powers. He stressed that the decisive turn in the country's economy (which was also seriously discussed by the conference delegates) lies in striking management changes, in strict respect for the laws governing the economy, but above all in winning the masses over for the broadest possible support of the goals of restructuring.

In the next part of their deliberations, they considered a broad range of issues in economic cooperation, based on long-term agreements and the suggestions yielded by the Moscow meeting between Milos Jakes and Mikhail Gorbachev in January 1988.

They agreed to speed up work on the concept of CSSR - USSR economic and scientific-technical cooperation for the next 15 - 20 years, so that it would include the essential qualitative changes in the industrial and scientific-technical collaboration between the two countries and provide for the further growth of the trade turnover. In this context, they assessed in detail the state of cooperation in engineering, nuclear power industry, and electronics. They discussed the possibilities of expanding the imports of products of the USSR's processing industry and the exports of our investment projects. Several suggestions concerned the improvement of direct relations between our enterprises, associations, and institutes. The two statesmen agreed that, in the spirit of proposals planned for the 44th CEMA meeting, it is

necessary to provide an example of dynamic cooperation in our bilateral relations. That is why it is necessary to speedily resolve the subject of prices, exchange rates, and of the social - legal regulations which are still hampering the broad production collaboration.

In conclusion it was agreed that the changes which are currently taking place in the national economies (particularly in the orientation of the economic reform and the restructuring of industrial production) must be taken into consideration in working out the coordination of plans for the coming 5-year period. At the same time, the two statesmen decided that specific issues (particularly those concerning engineering and power engineering) will be discussed by the branch ministers and by deputy heads of governments.

Lubomir Strougal and Nikolay Ryzhkov then signed the Program of USSR - CSSR Cooperation in the Development of Nuclear Power Industry Through the Year 2000. [passage omitted]

Commentator Assesses CPSU Conference

LD0207225288 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 2 Jul 88

[Jiri Cebrovsky commentary: "A great event which sets great tasks"]

[Text] These last 4 days have elicited unusual attention throughout the world and, judging by a number of assessments, reactions and comment, the interest in the Soviet Party conference is still as high as ever and even rising further. A number of newspapers and radio and television stations have been captivated by the drama of the debate. Apart from the sensation-seeking, in which the odd Western journalist indulged now and again, we might go along with the view taken by the French newspaper LE MONDE that what happened at the conference was something which had not been seen before—opinions and views were expressed which were different and often completely opposite. There was nothing that unusual about the controversial and heated discussion, however, because such an exchange of views is only logical. After all, the whole spectrum of the life of Soviet society was under discussion. We only have to look at one or two figures: The discussion on the party Central Committee theses involved 54 million people who submitted something like 2 million suggestions; that is why the debate turned out in they way it did.

The interest in the day-long proceedings of the Soviet party conference did not and does not stem, however, only from the openness of the discussion. No less attention round the world was paid to the way in which the Soviet party members assessed the results of their work so far, what kind of concrete measures they would take to tackle the issues and problems, what kind of course they would plot, and how much energy and enthusiasm they would throw into implementing their program for the future. A lot of this was made clear in the resolutions which were adopted, but a lot still remains to be seen in the days to come, in how restructuring and the democratization of society are put into practice, the kind of approach every Communist and nonparty member take to their given tasks.

If we want an instant assessment now, just a few hours after the conference ended, of what it produced, we might agree with the view that the main political result of the proceedings was to continue the policy of restructuring in all spheres of the life of Soviet society. Restructuring is reaching a qualitatively new level: New situations are taking shape, Mikhail Gorbachev stated at the conference, that is why we cannot tolerate even the least passivity, he stressed. The emphasis, then, was on new ideas, new actions, and practical work. This was the backdrop to the proceedings of the 19th CPSU Conference—the determination to move from often declamatory words to specific solutions to the problems and tasks. This is what the Soviet Communists turned their responsibility, enthusiasm and activity to in the last 4 days, by pondering the most important issues of life in the land of the Soviets, by turning their minds to the future and the way ahead.

CPCZ's Stepan Describes Moscow Visit

AU1506100688 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 9 Jun 88 p 6

[CTK report: "M. Stepan on Results of His Visit to Moscow; Seeking New Forms of Relations"]

[Text] Prague—M. Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat and leading secretary of the CPCZ's Prague City Committee, returned home from a friendly working visit to Moscow Tuesday [7 June] night. The visit took place at the invitation of L. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

After his arrival by air, Miroslav Stepan described the talks between the two city party organizations and said, among other things: "The meeting was held during a period of preparations for the 19th All-Union Party Conference—in many respects reminding us of our efforts to consistently implement the conclusions of both the seventh and the ninth sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee, with which not just the citizens of Prague, but all other citizens as well, identify by their concrete deeds.

"We have quite a few things to think about in the future. Especially things like how to develop in a nontraditional way our friendly relations, concentrate on establishing direct contacts between subdivisions of enterprises, plants, and institutions, and informal relations between the citizens of Prague and Moscow.

"Days of Prague will be held in Moscow at the end of this year. Our Muscovite friends expect from those days not only the traditional shows, but also a new, qualitative

change of the program. Therefore, the method in the Soviet Union of seeking is encouraging for our work during this period, in which Prague, too, has its city party conference behind it. After all, particularly the Soviet structural changes in the economic sphere, in restructuring the material, production, and development base, and in deepening socialist democracy are in many respects similar to our tasks, and have a common denominator—seeking nontraditional ways to implement the party's leading role, to apply party influence to the ongoing social process," M. Stepan said.

Jakes Receives MSZMP's Lukacs

LD0507113588 Prague CTK in English 1800 GMT 4 Jul 88

[Text] Prague July 4 (CTK)—General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Milos Jakes received here today Politburo member and Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee Janos Lukacs, currently on a working visit to Czechoslovakia.

Also present was Presidium member and Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Karel Hoffmann.

In a cordial comradely discussion the two representatives dealt with topical questions of the socialist construction and the current activities of the two parties. They highly appreciated the achieved level of relations between the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the intensive all-round bilateral relations and reviewed possibilities for their further expansion.

They underlined the significance of the 19th All-Union Communist Party Conference in the Soviet Union, whose conclusions provide numerous valuable stimuli for the party work in the process of social restructuring and democratization also in other socialist countries.

Karel Hoffmann and Janos Lukacs started working talks today about the activities of the Czechoslovak and Hungarian parties, the realization of the conclusions of the seventh and ninth sessions of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and the national conference of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

They also dealt with the improvement of the political system in the two countries, the development of socialist democracy and reviewed questions of the further development of cooperation between the Hungarian and Czechoslovak parties in the current period.

Janos Lukacs arrived here earlier today.

Chnoupek Confers With MSZMP's Varkonyi

AU1207173788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Jul 88 p 8

[CTK report: "Czechoslovak - Hungarian Talks; B. Chnoupek's Deliberations With P. Varkonyi"]

[Text] Bratislava—Talks between Peter Varkonyi and Bohuslav Chnoupek, ministers of foreign affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic and the CSSR respectively, were held in Komarno on Monday [4 July]. During the talks, the two ministers assessed topical issues of the international situation and the prospects for Czechoslovak - Hungarian relations, which are developing successfully in all spheres in the spirit of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance.

The ministers stated that the contacts between their two states had intensified since their last meeting in Budapest in July 1987. The main directions of these contacts are defined by the conclusions adopted at the 17th CPCZ and 13th MSZMP Congresses, and their foundations are laid by the cooperation between the two fraternal parties, which was significantly stimulated by the official friendly visit paid by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, to the Hungarian People's Republic in April 1988.

B. Chnoupek briefed his Hungarian partner on the radical restructuring process in the CSSR's national economy and on the development of our socialist democracy. He appraised the development of Czechoslovak - Hungarian economic cooperation (developed in harmony with the principles of economic integration) and the regular and dynamic mutual exchange of goods. The construction of the Gabcikovo - Nagymaros hydroelectric complex on the River Danube is proceeding according to the set schedule. He also pointed out the great significance of tourism between the CSSR and the Hungarian People's Republic (in fact, 2.7 million CSSR citizens visited the Hungarian People's Republic in 1987).

P. Varkonyi positively appraised the intensive political contacts (including top-level contacts) and the meetings of party general secretaries, government heads, and parliament chairmen, stating that close bilateral cooperation also characterizes contacts in the economy, culture, science, education, and medical care. He also dealt with the cooperation between the two countries in environmental protection, in medical care in the border areas, in cultural information, and in other fields of bilateral relations.

The two ministers highly appraised the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and its significance. At the same time, they assessed the situation in the conflict-ridden areas of the world and at the Vienna meeting, and considered the UN's activities. P. Varkonyi expressed particular appreciation for the Czechoslovak proposal to create a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along

the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states, stressing that this proposal is fully supported by the Hungarian People's Republic.

The talks were attended by Ondrej Durej, CSSR ambassador to the Hungarian People's Republic, and Janos Hanku, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Hungarian People's Republic to the CSSR.

B. Chnoupek gave a festive luncheon in P. Varkonyi's honor.

In the afternoon of the same day, the minister of foreign affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic concluded his 1-day friendly working visit to the CSSR and departed for home.

Further on Hungarian-Romanian Relations

AU0807143688 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 1 July and Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 2 July each carry, on page 7, CTK Budapest dispatches on current Hungarian-Romanian relations.

The 300-word PRAVDA report, entitled "Stand of the Hungarian People's Republic on the Closing Down of Hungary's Cluj Consulate," quotes from Hungarian deputy foreign minister Oszi's statement to Romanian charge d'affaires I. Chira passages in which Oszi says that the closing down of the consulate contradicts the norms of European cooperation and the CSCE documents of Helsinki and Madrid and seriously impairs mutual relations; and that the Budapest demonstration that allegedly led to it merely protested at discrimination against minorities, was intended to promote human rights and mutual friendship free of nationalism or chauvinism, and was not aimed against Romania or socialism.

The 200-word RUDE PRAVO report, entitled "Stand Adopted by the Parliament of the Hungarian People's Republic on the Romanian Program of Village Development," quotes from the paper presented by Foreign Committee Chairman Matyas Szuros to the Hungarian National Assembly passages in which Szuros speaks about the public concern that the elimination of a precious heritage on the pretext of socialist development would be a loss for national minorities and all Romanian people and violation of basic human rights; the hope that Romania would abandon this plan and solve the problem in the spirit of respect for human rights; and the assurance that Hungary is prepared to cooperate.

Obzina Meets With Romania's Ursu

AU0807200188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1832 GMT 8 Jul 88

["Romanian-Czechoslovak Talks on the Development of Technical-Scientific Collaboration"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] The talks on the development of the Romanian-Czechoslovak technical-scientific collaboration were held in Prague between Ion Ursu, first vice-chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology in Romania, and Jaromir Obzina, deputy prime minister, chairman of the State Technological and Investment Development Commission of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

During the talks, in keeping with the resolutions adopted during the recent meeting in Bucharest between the RCP general secretary and Romania's president, Nicolae Ceausescu, and the secretary-general of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Milos Jakes, regarding the multifaceted development of the cooperative relations between the two countries, the sides examined the present stage and the further development perspectives of the technical-scientific cooperation, and new measures and targets were set leading to the intensification of the collaboration of the Romanian and Czechoslovak scientists in peak domains of science and technology of mutual interest.

A protocol was signed at the end of the talks.

Ion Ursu met with Acad. Josef Riman, president of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, and held talks with Czechoslovak scientists in the domains of chemistry, physics and creation of new materials regarding the possibilities to develop the mutual collaboration.

Strougal Meets With SFRY's Zemljaric

LD0707140788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1021 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] Prague, 7 Jul (TANJUG)—FEC Vice President Janez Zemljaric, who is heading a Yugoslav delegation to the CEMA session, today met with Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal. In the talks, which focused on the development of Yugoslav-Czechoslovak relations in the aftermath of Strougal's recent successful visit to Yugoslavia, the two sides stressed the need for further measures to advance and expand economic cooperation between the two countries. Views were also exchanged on the CEMA Prague session and its importance for developing cooperation within this organization. The talks were also attended by Dusan Rodic, the Yugoslav ambassador to the CSSR.

SED Control Commission Delegation Arrives

LD0407233388 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 4 Jul 88

[Text] A delegation of the SED Central Party Control Commission headed by Erich Mueckenberger, its chairman, arrived in Czechoslovakia today. During a conversation with Comrade Jaroslav Hajn both officials exchanged experiences from the application of party's supervisory function and from the activity of auditing and control commissions at all levels of party's structure.

Jakes, Husak Greet Jaruzelski on Birthday

AU1207173088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jul 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Congratulations to Warsaw"]

[Text] Prague—Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, and CSSR President Gustav Husak sent a congratulatory letter to Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic, on the occasion of the latter's 65th birthday.

In the letter they express high appreciation of W. Jaruzelski's lifelong work for the upsurge of the PPR and of his significant contribution toward strengthening the cohesion of the socialist community and deepening the fraternal contacts between the CPCZ and PZPR, and between the CSSR and the PPR.

Bilak Meets Austrian Socialist Party's Sinowatz

LD1107124088 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, today received Fred Sinowatz, member of the Presidium of the Socialist Party of Austria, who is in Czechoslovakia on a brief, private visit. During a friendly and frank conversation both representatives discussed the development in their respective countries, examined topical issues concerning Czechoslovak-Austrian relations, and exchanged views on ways leading to deeper understanding and peaceful cooperation among European nations.

CPCZ Notes Grain Targets Unattainable

LD0807144388 Prague CTK in English 1341 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Prague July 8 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium highly praised at its session today the course and results of the 19th Soviet Communist Party Conference and described its conclusions as a rich source of inspiration for the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

It will debate at its next session the use of the impulses and conclusions from the 19th CPSU Conference in the work of the Czechoslovak party.

The Presidium expressed dissatisfaction with Czechoslovakia's work in the implementation of the Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technological Progress of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance up to the Year 2000. It noted that new forms of scientific-technological cooperation must be used increasingly to improve Czechoslovakia's participation in the implementation of the program. The results of scientific-technological development must be exploited to develop an integrated socialist common market. These issues must receive increased attention also in the coordination of the national economic plans for the next five-year period and in the drafting of the collective concept of the international socialist division of labour for the years 1991-2005, in harmony with the conclusions of this week's 44th CMEA session.

The Presidium heard information on preparations for this year's harvest work and grain purchases. It noted that extreme drought during April and May had an adverse effect on the growth of cereals primarily in the Czech Republic and it is estimated that the planned grain production targets will not be attained.

Rights Activist Sent to Psychiatric Hospital

AU0407194188 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 2 Jul 88 p 3

[Text] Prague, 1 July—On 16 June CSSR civil rights activist and Catholic Augustin Navratil was sent to a psychiatric institution in Olomouc at the order of a judge to be subjected to a "psychiatric examination." This was reported by the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Prosecuted (VONS) in Prague on Thursday [30 June]. A VONS spokesman said that this permits the conclusion that 60-year-old Navratil is to remain in a psychiatric institution for several weeks and will be subjected to medical treatment "that cannot be checked upon." Navratil is one of the co-authors of the petition for more freedom of religion in the CSSR.

Honecker Welcomes Gorbachev Disarmament Proposals
LD1207175488 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1614 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Berlin, 12 Jul (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and GDR State Council chairman, made the following statement today:

The GDR welcomes as being extremely in line with the times Mikhail Gorbachev's new proposals on the reduction of confrontation made in the Sejm of the PPR. This is an important initiative for confidence building, for strengthening security in Europe and for continuing the process of disarmament. The GDR, as a country directly on the dividing line between the two military blocs, has great interest in a European center for reducing the threat of war, which includes the possibility of continuous cooperation between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. This initiative is very closely linked to the ideas expressed by the GDR as well as to the proposals of the PPR and the CSSR.

The GDR supports the project for calling a European summit. It is in favor of W. Jaruzelski's proposal to hold this summit in Warsaw. The GDR is prepared to take part in the preparations for and execution of such a meeting. Meetings at the highest level, we know from experience, can only foster multilateral understanding on disarmament and support effective negotiations in other committees.

With particular attention and agreement, the GDR has also noted the USSR's proposal to withdraw air forces from advanced positions in East Europe, if NATO does not transfer its 72 F-16 fighter-bombers to Italy as planned. It also supports the initiative on agreements on the priority reduction of tactical nuclear weapons, tactical offensive air forces, and tanks, made within the framework of the three-stage plan to reduce conventional armed forces in Europe, in the plan's first stage, and not in its third. This plan is also significant because it provides for reducing NATO and Warsaw Pact troops to 500,000 on each side after eliminating imbalances and asymmetries.

Bahr, Axen Hold Press Conference in Bonn
AU1207164588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Jul 88 pp 5, 6

[Dispatch from Bonn by NEUES DEUTSCHLAND correspondents Rolf Guenther and Werner Otto: "An Expression of the Result-Oriented Dialogue for a Secure Peace"]

[Text] Bonn—At the beginning of the international press conference in Bonn on Thursday [7 July], the heads of the joint working groups of the SED Central Committee and the SPD Bundestag group, Hermann Axen and Egon Bahr, took the floor to explain the document.

In his introductory remarks, Egon Bahr said that the new proposal differs in one basic point from the working results achieved so far concerning a chemical weapons-free zone and a nuclear-free corridor in central Europe. It does not concern weapons, but concentrates solely on building confidence, and is thus completely within the tradition of Stockholm. The confidence-building measures agreed on there are already effective, although there is still no conventional disarmament in Europe.

Proposals Conform to the Time and to Alliance Interests [subhead]

The measures proposed today do not conflict with any NATO resolution. They are to be fully included in the negotiations, for which a mandate can be agreed on in Vienna this month, which the FRG Government also hopes for. Thus, the proposals' timing is right, they conform to alliance interests, and they are intended for the CSCE follow-up negotiations. One can assume that the GDR Government will adopt these proposals, which means that the FRG Government will have to expect to be confronted by them in Vienna, Egon Bahr said. Therefore, the question is whether the FRG Government wants to leave such an initiative solely to the GDR Government. Nothing can prevent both German governments from recalling the community of responsibility affirmed by both sides during the visit by the chairman of the GDR State Council and from developing joint initiatives which would lead to greater security in Europe. They would only be doing what is expressly provided for in the Basic Agreement.

Equal Information at All Times for Both Sides of Europe [subhead]

With regard to the new proposal, Egon Bahr emphasized the qualitatively new element that both sides in Europe should have the same level of information at their disposal, so that mistakes and misunderstandings can be excluded. Since there are already monitoring centers in every capital city, these could be connected to one another, which would prevent crises developing through mistakes. In his remarks, the SPD politician described the double-zero option as a triumph of the idea of joint security over the policy of strength. All sides are proud of the agreed reciprocal controls, which were previously considered implausible.

Bahr said that the present proposal shows that confidence can emanate not only from the two superpowers or the neutral and nonaligned states, but also from the smaller states in central Europe.

There Must Be No Stagnation in the Process of Disarmament [subhead]

In his speech, Hermann Axen stressed that again it is representatives of the SPD and the SED who take the initiative to present to the international public new, up-to-date proposals for confidence-building and for

increasing European security. He recalled that in implementing the agreements of 17 May 1987 between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of the SPD and of the SPD Bundestag group, a working group was established with the aim of drawing up proposals for the establishment of confidence-building security structures in Europe.

The proposal presented to the public today on a "zone of trust and security in central Europe" is the first interim result of our work, and an expression of the result-oriented dialogue of both parties to safeguard peace, increase security, and build confidence in Europe, Hermann Axen stressed.

Only a few weeks have passed since, at their Moscow summit, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan exchanged instruments of ratification concerning the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, and thus put this historic treaty into force. The elimination of an entire class of nuclear weapons is a first, forward-reaching step on the path toward a nuclear-free world that is desired by all peoples. The Berlin International Meeting on Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones convincingly demonstrated how strong these efforts are. The GDR politician stressed that this meeting became the most comprehensive international forum on peace issues in history so far. The GDR's people considered it positive that 100 renowned persons from the FRG participated in this meeting, representing a very broad political spectrum and including well-known politicians from three Bundestag parties.

The coming into force of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has initiated nuclear disarmament. There must be no break, no stagnation in the process of disarmament. First, the danger that results for all the world from the enormous accumulation of weapons along the sensitive dividing line between NATO and the Warsaw Pact is not banished in any way. Second, neglecting the historic chances of dynamically continuing nuclear, chemical, and conventional disarmament in Europe, circles that are interested in armament are developing, testing, and deploying new, dangerous arms systems with intensified assiduity.

Averting Damage From the Common European House [subhead]

One realizes that such a policy is madness, the speaker said, when one thinks that a military incident—regardless of whether it is started deliberately or through human or technical error—would have disastrous consequences for Europe and the whole world. Erich Honecker said at the Berlin International Meeting: "Not much time remains for negotiating a nuclear-free world. We must use every initiative that lets us make progress in this direction." Proceeding from this, Hermann Axen continued: We think that the main direction of further nuclear disarmament agreed on between the USSR and the United States should be actively supported and not hindered by all European states. The responsibility of the states at the dividing line between the two alliance systems therefore requires the presentation of new, independent proposals to raise security and confidence on the European continent. As the occupant of a small but beautiful socialist condominium in the common European house, it supports the idea that growth in confidence and increased security determine a peaceful life for all the inhabitants of this house. With our proposal today we want to install—if we stick to this picture—a reliable alarm system in order to avert damage from the very beginning from those inhabitants of the European house who are most endangered. At the same time, we want all those living in the common European house to handle less explosive material in their apartments, and, finally, we are in favor of the inhabitants reducing existing sources of danger by means of mutual inspections and joint protective measures.

Preventive Measures Would Be Taken With Regard to Crises [subhead]

What are the essential aspects of the new SED-SPD proposal for a "zone of trust and security in central Europe?"

1. We present to the governments of the CSCE states the following proposals for a zone of trust and security in central Europe, and recommend that the FRG and GDR Governments take corresponding initiatives.

2. In order to establish this zone, the SED and SPD recommend measures, such as the expansion of the agreements concluded in Stockholm by means of further reducing the lower limits for notifiable maneuvers and by including independent maneuvers of air forces and navies, and the limitation of large-scale maneuvers. According to our proposal, notifiable maneuvers in an area of, for instance, 50 km on both sides of the border between the two alliances, should no longer take place.

3. The most important item of our agreement is the establishment of permanent centers for confidence-building, which increase security through the timely exchange of information, which prevent critical situations in central Europe, or help solve them by political means. They would be based on the joint evaluation of national and international information. Permanent, joint observer stations should be established in strategically important sites. In addition to direct links—such as "hot lines"—between Berlin, Prague, and Bonn, for instance, we are striving for joint European satellite reconnaissance. This could be an instrument of the CSCE states.

All information or reports collected on risky situations should be evaluated multilaterally. In addition to the European states, they would also be available to the United States and Canada.

These confidence-building measures, the Politburo member continued, are proposals which would have to be discussed and coordinated with all states affected.

A Zone of Trust Is No Disadvantage to Anyone [subhead]

The preamble of our proposal demonstrates how SED-SPD cooperation in security policy fits into the all-European disarmament progress. A zone of trust and security in central Europe is no danger or disadvantage to anyone. It corresponds to the legitimate security interests of all sides. A central European zone of trust and security would consolidate the joint responsibility of the European peoples and states for peace on their continent, and would contribute to the reduction of military activities and tensions and to the elimination of mutual fears of threats and of distrust at the dividing line between NATO and Warsaw Pact in Europe. The establishment of a central European zone of trust and security would be an important link in a system of European and international security, Hermann Axen stressed.

The proposal worked out by the SED and the SPD is based on the joint political initiative to establish a nuclear-free corridor or a nuclear-free zone in central Europe. It promotes and supports important disarmament initiatives, such as the Jaruzelski Plan for the elimination of armaments and the increasing of trust in central Europe, and the Jakes plan for the establishment of a zone of trust along the dividing line between the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

The speaker recalled Mikhail Gorbachev's words during the exchange of the instruments of ratification for the elimination of the Soviet and U.S. intermediate-range missiles, to the effect that the first lines have already been written in the book of a world without war and nuclear weapons, and that already now no one will be able to shut this book any more, and to lay it aside. The speaker said that we proceed from the expectation that our proposal today will be used by the states and peoples in Europe to continue this book.

With their joint initiatives for the establishment of a chemical weapons-free zone in Europe, for a nuclear-free corridor in central Europe, and for a worldwide ban on chemical weapons, the SED and the SPD have already made an important contribution to pushing ahead the process of disarmament and confidence-building on our continent. In this spirit, we will continue the dialogue on questions of arms limitation and disarmament, in particular on conventional disarmament and inability to attack, which has just started, Hermann Axen said.

Measures Could Be Tackled Immediately [subhead]

Afterward, Hermann Axen and Egon Bahr answered journalists' questions. With regard to the ranking of the new proposal within the security policy dialogue between East and West, Hermann Axen emphasized that the proposals made so far have been related to how to remove weapons of mass destruction in the area on both sides of the dividing line between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. By contrast, the new proposal is aimed at confidence-building measures that can be tackled immediately and do not need a long time for the attainment of to an agreement. The proposals will also not touch on the interests and commitments of both sides within their alliances, but will create more security and trust. What matters is to apply to the sensitive zone in Europe the confidence-building measures now being practiced by the two big powers. Egon Bahr then expanded on this by referring to the efforts of the Stockholm conference to extend the resolutions on confidence building which have been in force for 1 and ½ years. This is precisely where the proposals of the working group fit in. The process cannot go in any other direction.

Speaking of the inclusion of independent maneuvers by air forces and navies in the obligation to give notification, Egon Bahr emphasized that this component of the joint proposal, which goes beyond Stockholm, is very difficult to implement, but is indispensable. The complexity involves definition regarding the size and regionalization of the maneuvers. The working group pointed this out, but neither wanted to nor could anticipate the government negotiations which would be dealing with this problem.

Asked about the international effectiveness of the proposals, Hermann Axen said that today the subject of nuclear-free zones is more topical than ever. This has been shown not least by the Berlin International Meeting on Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones. Leading statesmen, prominent politicians, and representatives of large international organizations welcomed the proposals of the SED, CPCZ, and SPD and described them as important initiatives. Efforts toward peace and disarmament demand not only energy but also, above all, patience.

In reply to further questions, Egon Bahr said that the FRG Government has been informed of all the proposals made so far. Indeed, there are also consultations taking place between the GDR, the CSSR, and the FRG in Geneva on the removal of chemical weapons, but unfortunately they have remained unfruitful up to now, because the FRG Government remains exclusively bent on a global solution. The SED and the SPD are also for a worldwide agreement, Egon Bahr said, but why should not the period before then be used for independent concrete initiatives for Europe, where the greatest concentration of weapons of mass destruction is to be found.

In reply to a question about possible meetings, for example, also between the defense ministers of the two German states, Hermann Axen said that there is no law

saying that such meetings must be confined to the Soviet Union and the United States. With appropriate preparation, this would certainly be useful and fruitful.

'Hackneyed Lie' of Pact Threat Fuels Arms Race

AU1207134688 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Jul 88 p 2

["He." commentary: "Again the Lie of a Threat"]

[Text] Apparently, certain NATO circles can only counter the disarmament initiatives of the Warsaw Pact states with difficulty. Although it is absurd: This is precisely why the hackneyed lie of a threat is repeated all the more obtrusively.

NATO Commander in Chief U.S. General Galvin: "The Warsaw Pact continues to be aggressive." It has "not given up its objective of ruling over Western Europe(!)." Bundeswehr Inspector General Admiral Wellershoff boldly states: "The main problem of Europe's security is the conventional superiority of the Warsaw Pact, its ability to carry out surprise attacks and large-scale offensives."

By conjuring up "conventional superiority," the known question of asymmetries is probably being insinuated. The admiral asks sharply: When will the East reduce "its surplus" tanks and heavy artillery? Why does Wellershoff not say when NATO will reduce its surplus of raiding forces, combat helicopters, and naval forces? It is unrealistic to demand unilateral advance concessions from us.

As far as we are concerned, we are in favor of eliminating asymmetries—of course, on the precondition that this happens on both sides. However, we go much further in our proposals. We call for new nuclear disarmament measures, including the establishment of a nuclear-free corridor along the dividing line between the two military blocs. Ban chemical weapons. Create a zone of trust and security. And reduce conventional armed forces and arms—enough to eliminate the ability of both the Warsaw Pact and NATO armies to make an attack. What will then remain of the "threat"? What about the officers' mess gabble about a "large-scale offensive"? Who or what is to be "deterred"?

Europe's security requires speedy disarmament, not "deterrence." This is an aggressive doctrine. It means clinging to nuclear weapons and the readiness to use them. It leads to the continuation of the nuclear arms race. It impedes and finally prevents any kind of disarmament. The only thing it maintains is the danger of a nuclear inferno.

Is it not high time to dispose of the lie of a threat and, with it, of "deterrence"? For the house of Europe, which is now frequently also spoken about in the West, is to be a house for the living, not a house for the dead....

Environment Minister Receives FRG Counterpart

AU1307104088 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Jul 88 p 2

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Dr Hans Reichelt, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and minister of environmental protection and water conservancy, and Prof Dr Klaus Toepfer, FRG minister of environment, nature conservation, and reactor safety, had an exchange of information and opinions in Berlin on Monday [11 July]. In this way the talks, which had started with the conclusion of the agreements between the Governments of the GDR and the FRG on further shaping relations in environmental protection, were continued. This document had been signed in Bonn on 8 September 1987, on the occasion of the official visit of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to the FRG.

Both ministers positively assessed the implementation of the governmental agreement so far. They pointed to the 14 meetings of experts that have already been held.

Minister Reichelt reported on the principles and objectives of environmental policy as a component of the GDR's entire policy. According to the GDR's economic strategy, he highlighted the development and introduction of technologies producing few waste products, the economic use of waste products, and recycling of valuable materials. He acquainted his guest with comprehensive measures which are being carried out by the GDR according to plan, in order to protect surface and ground water, especially to improve the water quality of the Elbe and its tributaries. At the same time, he explained the considerable efforts being made to keep the air clean. In this context, Minister Dr Reichelt also mentioned the results that are continuously being achieved, above all in preventing the pollution of the waters and the air, in the interest of better environmental conditions in the area of the GDR-FRG state border and up to the FRG territory.

Minister Toepfer reported on efforts and results of environmental protection, especially in keeping the waters clean and disposing of waste. He also mentioned the water quality of the Elbe. Dr Reichelt pointed out that the mutual agreement on the borderline on this river is a necessary prerequisite for continuing the talks on the water quality of the Elbe.

During the talk, which was held in an objective and constructive atmosphere, the ministers stressed that the development of cooperation in environmental protection would also be useful for further normalizing the relations between the two German states.

Also on Monday, Minister Toepfer and his entourage visited the north Berlin purification plant. [passage omitted]

The FRG environment minister stressed during the tour that environmental protection very much depends on technological progress and that there is no other field in which international cooperation is so necessary. This also applies to the two German states. The point in the search for approaches to joint work in this field is not to put the blame for the state of the natural environment on each other, but that each side does its "homework." [passage omitted]

Dohlus Receives CPC Study Delegation
AU1207171988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9-10 Jul 88 p 2

[Excerpt] East Berlin (ADN)—On Friday [8 July] Horst Dohlus, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received a study delegation of the CPC Central Committee headed by Liu Feng, member of the CPC Central Discipline Inspection Commission and deputy head of the CPC Central Committee Organization Department.

The friendly exchange of experiences focused on the results and experiences of the SED and CPC in implementing the resolutions adopted by the most recent party congresses, aimed at further building socialism in their countries.

The interlocutors expressed satisfaction at the further deepening of friendly relations between the SED and CPC, between the two states and peoples, in realizing the measures agreed during Erich Honecker's visit to the PRC and during his meeting with Zhao Ziyang in the GDR. This is of great importance and corresponds to the responsibility of both parties for the cause of peace and socialism, they pointed out.

Horst Dohlus briefed the Chinese visitors on the results of the sixth SED Central Committee session, particularly on the balance sheet of the successful implementation of the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress and further tasks concerning the party's leadership activities in this respect. He stressed that the course of the unity of economic and social policy is being purposefully realized through the working people's resourceful work, and will lead to increased economic efficiency, further social progress, and the comprehensive strengthening of socialism in the GDR. The efforts of the SED and the people of the GDR are directed toward vigorously contributing to safeguarding peace and increasing the standing of socialism in the world. [passage omitted]

Politburo's Eberlein Visits Church Facilities
AU1207174088 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9-10 Jul 88 p 3

[Excerpts] Magdeburg (ADN)—At the Magdeburg Pfeiffer Foundation on Friday [8 July], Werner Eberlein, SED Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Magdeburg Bezirk leadership, accompanied by Dr Christoph Demke, bishop of the Evangelical Church of Saxony, held talks with staff members of these facilities of the Evangelical Church's home mission. During a walking tour he took an interest in the conditions in this spacious complex which includes four specialized hospitals and five nursing homes. [passage omitted]

In an occupational therapy workshop, Werner Eberlein paid tribute to the artistic quality of the textile and ceramic works manufactured by handicapped persons. He said that charitable facilities take an important place in society, in the health and social system. He said that they are supported by the state in many ways. It was with great respect that he talked about the commitment of the doctors, nurses, deaconesses, and other employees.

Subsequently, Bishop Demke told journalists that a society's humanity manifests itself most clearly in the way it turns to the weakest of its members, the way it helps them to advance, gives them room, and grants them opportunities to live. "We, the churches, want to contribute our share by our charitable commitment," he said, adding that Werner Eberlein's visit has shown how much charitable work is appreciated in the GDR. The church in socialism is trying today to meet the social obligation of the Christian faith toward all that harms, destroys, and affects human life, he said. That very essentially includes the responsibility for the preservation and development of peace, the responsibility for the preservation of the environment, for a more just world economic order, for equal rights and equal respect among the people.

Grosz Upcoming Visit to U.S., Relations Viewed
LD1207200588 Budapest MTI in English
1905 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, July 12 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary and prime minister, at the invitation of the US Government, makes an official visit to the United States on July 19-28.

During his visit he is to meet President Reagan, Vice-President George Bush and several members of the US Administration and members of both Houses of the Congress. The agenda of the official negotiations including primarily the review of possibilities of expanding bilateral relations and major issues of global politics.

The prime minister starts his trip in Chicago, followed by California and New York ending in Washington, DC. His programmes include meetings with major US businessmen and chief executive officers of US firms involved in Hungarian US business. According to the plans Karoly Grosz is to visit the leaders of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. He is also to meet the leaders of the Hungarian emigrees.

To the upswing of the relations between Hungary and the USA the conditions were assured in the late seventies by settling open questions lingering from post-war times, such as property rights agreement, the return of the crown treasures, contractual arrangement of the trade relations. Since then the relations of the two countries continously improved and at present these are orderly and by and large free of problems and in some fields the relations develop dynamically.

The level and frequency of the meetings between the leading personalities of the two countries is remarkably even in the historical perspective. On the Hungarian side the visits of leading figures of the HSWP such as Ferenc Havasi (1985), Gyorgy Aczel and Matyas Szuros (1987) and Miklos Nemeth (1988) were remarkable, in addition to the several deputy prime minister visits, the latest of Jozsef Marjai last year. The meetings of cabinet ministers became more and more frequent.

The highest level political contact on the US side was represented by the visit of Vice-President George Bush in 1983. Secretary of State George Shultz visited Budapest in 1985 and this resulted in stepped up political dialogue: Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead visited Hungary three times since 1986.

The contacts of the administrations were usefully complemented by the visits of the US senators and congressmen who had the opportunity to collect impressions at high levels on the political and economic situation in Hungary.

The framework of economic and trade relations is set by the trade agreement signed in 1978. In the year 1987 trade was outstanding, total turnover exceeding half billion USD [U.S. dollars]. Hungarian exports rose by 33 per cent in one year, while imports increased by 28 per cent to reach USD 225 million. In order to stabilize business relations the Hungarian side is pressing, for longer time, for extending the most favoured nation status on longer term instead of the annual granting. The Hungarians also urge the review and softening of the regulations covering high-tech exports.

The two countries are linked by cultural, education, scientific-technical and consular agreements. The multifold and useful cultural and scientific exchange, however, carries the seemingly permanent imbalance in favour of the US, which is not sustantiated even by the size and language differences of the two countries.

Travel is expanding and reached record high in 1987 when 111 thousand US citizens visited Hungary, a 45 per cent increase over 1986, and 15 thousand Hungarians visited the US. The consular and customs affairs and orderly. The opening of a Hungarian consular and trade office in one of the large cities of California is on the agenda for years.

The visit of Prime Minister Karoly Grosz is the result of a US initiative. His programme is aimed primarily at giving boost to the problem-free development of the relations in the fields of economy. Karoly Grosz is to meet businessmen in several locations in the US and he will speak on the Hungarian situation, business and investment opportunities. The Hungarian premier is to have presentations in some important foreign policy societies.

He is to see Chicago first, followed by Sacramento, San Francisco and Los Angeles and at all these locations business meetings dominate the programme. In New York he is to meet representatives of Hungarian organizations.

The prime minister ends his visit in Washington, DC spending several hours with President Reagan in the White House at confidential conversation and plenary session followed by a working lunch. He is to meet Secretary of State George Shultz, Secretary of Trade William Verity, representatives of the Congress and leaders of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. At several points of the trip press conferences are planned to be held.

After completing his US visit Karoly Grosz is to make a short stop-over in Canada at the invitation of businessmen where he is to discuss trade, economy and technical-scientific relations and investment opportunities in Hungary with leading industrial and financial figures. Karoly Grosz is to meet Canadian Premier Brian Mulroney in Toronto.

More on Grosz Interview to THE NEW YORK TIMES

AU1307074188 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 11 Jul 88 pp 1,2

[MTI report: "Karoly Grosz' Interview to THE NEW YORK TIMES—Political Democratization Is the Condition for Economic Dynamism"]

[Text] The prestigious U.S. daily THE NEW YORK TIMES published in its 10 July issue a lengthy interview with MSZMP General Secretary and Premier Karoly Grosz. In his interview given to James M. Markham, the Hungarian statesman spoke in detail about the goals of the Hungarian reform policy, Hungarian-Soviet relations, and about political and economic issues. The U.S. daily did not publish the material in the form of an interview, but, reflecting the journalist's judgment, it quoted some of his ideas verbatim along with the journalist's own opinions.

Hungary's new leader, Markham pointed out among other things, mentioned Mikhail Gorbachev's statement that the Soviet Union has set the goal to adopt this small East European country's highly innovative political and economic course. Mikhail Gorbachev had informed Karoly Grosz of this 3 days earlier. "Probably the Hungarian endeavors and the Hungarian perceptions are the closest now to those of the Soviet Union," Karoly Grosz said, quoting the Soviet leader.

During his 80-minute interview on 8 July, Karoly Grosz said, among other things, that he had embraced Mikhail Gorbachev's argument that political democratization is a condition for economic dynamism. Grosz stressed at the same time, the journalist added, that democratization in Hungary would take place only "in the context of a one-party system. This is how Gorbachev perceives the issue, as you can see if you read his speech to the party conference," Karoly Grosz pointed out.

Karoly Grosz then said that "he wanted to change the nature of central guidance" and to have the communist party play less of a front-line role, ceding terrain to both governmental agencies and nongovernmental organizations.

"So what we need is a political structure that is being built from the bottom to the top, from the grassroots level, and whose key words are voluntary activity, creativity, and freedom of creation," Karoly Grosz said.

Karoly Grosz specifically praised two innovative figures—Imre Pozsgay, an outspoken champion of greater political freedom, and Rezso Nyers, one of the architects of Hungary's economic liberalization—who were given seats in the 11-member Politburo in May. The Hungarian leader added that Imre Pozsgay "had been his friend for decades." In connection with Imre Pozsgay's appointment as minister of state on 29 June, Karoly Grosz said that "it is possible that the appointment could be a stepping-stone for Imre Pozsgay to become premier." Karoly Grosz made it clear that he intends to relinquish his post of prime minister he has been holding for a year.

Karoly Grosz said that the National Assembly would adopt a law on associations in December this year, a law that "will stipulate the ways in which one can implement things that are allowed." Karoly Grosz also said that there was "no room and no justification" for reconsidering "the character of the 1956 events," although he contended that individual aspects of the uprising should be studied by historians and others. "It would be very timely and topical for a sociologist to write a study about the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America, and about the way they misled the public and the way in which they incited the Hungarians to revolt," Karoly Grosz said. He called Janos Kadar "the most outstanding figure in the last 4 decades of Hungarian political history" and praised his realism and his "outstanding sense of compromise."

Dealing then with economic tasks, Karoly Grosz went through a long list of goals. He said he favored "a market in which it is the consumer and not the producer who dictates," where rival enterprises in the same field compete vigorously, and where "bosses and employees cannot feel secure if they do not perform well." When his interviewer suggested that he was in fact describing the capitalist system, Karoly Grosz responded: "If they are efficient, I find things sympathetic, regardless of slogans. I think we cannot live on slogans. The duty of theory is not to justify existing practice."

Answering questions about the Hungarian national minority living in Romania, Karoly Grosz expressed the hope that he would be able to discuss this issue with President Nicolae Ceausescu in Bucharest this fall.

Karoly Grosz said that "he is looking forward with excitement" to his upcoming visit to the United States which will be his first such visit. "I already know one great power," he said with a smile, referring to the Soviet Union, "and now I would like to get to know another one." He also said that during his visit to the United States he would visit his 84-year-old aunt who emigrated from Hungary in 1936 and who now lives in Santa Monica, California. Karoly Grosz said that this woman, his mother's sister, had held him in her arms when he was baptized as a child.

"I want a Hungary which is open, integrated in the world, and is adjusting to the main trends of the world's intellectual and economic development," Karoly Grosz pointed out. He added that it was in the interest of the West to have "an open, civilized, and quickly developing socialist world" as a partner.

The report on the interview is illustrated with a picture showing Mikhail Gorbachev and Karloy Grosz as they are shaking hands.

Grosz Discusses Moscow Talks, Other Topics

AU1207081988 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Jul 88 p 5

[Interview with MSZMP General Secretary and Premier Karoly Grosz by Andras Kanyo: "Between Moscow and Budapest—One Hour With the General Secretary"—in the Plane Carrying Karoly Grosz to Budapest—date not given]

[Text] On his trip to and from his Moscow talks on 5 July, Karoly Grosz traveled on a regular Malev [Hungarian air lines] flight where he met with and talked to other passengers on the plane. Our correspondent spent 1 hour with Karoly Grosz on his return flight and taped the interview. In the following excerpts from this interview, Karoly Grosz speaks about politics, sports, and many other things.

[Kanyo] You said in your toast in Moscow—and I do not quote it verbatim—that there are ways and opportunities of implementing particular national interests in the framework of coordinated cooperation. Please, tell us what you mean by this?

[Grosz] There is nothing new in this. I have been saying for a long time that the interests of a community can be best served by implementing the national interests within this community. I could even reverse the order, and I am not ashamed of that. A more thorough implementation of national interests is the way—in my view—by which we can best contribute to these community interests. In my view, the stress should be on national interests and these national interests should be adjusted to the community interests.

[Kanyo] It follows from this that the role played by the small and medium-sized countries in international politics will further increase.

[Grosz] In my view, the role of these countries will definitely increase as a result of bilateral influences. It is not only the Soviet Union that relies on the active cooperation of small countries; the other large partner, the United States, also relies on their cooperation. Therefore, we are talking here about a bilateral process whose aims can be different. The important thing is that both sides have recognized that everyone should share the burden of responsibility for the fate of mankind.

[Kanyo] What can we expect from Hungarian-Soviet economic relations in the wake of your talks in Moscow?

[Grosz] First of all, I must point out that the Soviet Union is basically an exporter of raw materials and energy. It is a country which is deliberately striving to bring about a structural change, but which is ready to maintain existing ratios in bilateral relations for 1990-95. This is extremely important for us.

The other thing is that we have also agreed to replace the current Hungarian export structure with more efficient and more modern products which fulfill Soviet needs. I consider this to be a justified requirement; to say nothing of the fact that we should regard this requirement as a plus because, if we are able to meet the challenge, this cooperation will also help us advance. One of our problems in recent decades has been that we have been satisfied by fulfilling the needs of a modest market. On top of everything, we are still praising ourselves for this "great" performance.

[Kanyo] In your answer to one of our Soviet colleagues at your press conference in Moscow, you outlined the prospects of stabilization and development for the Hungarian economy over a period of 1 decade for each. Does this reflect an optimistic concept or....

[Grosz] The decade outlined for the first task is an optimistic evaluation, the other one is already carrying signs of a compromise.

[Kanyo] They say you like sports. What is your favorite sport?

[Grosz] It used to be football.

[Kanyo] Why do you use the past tense?

[Grosz] I am embarrassed to admit that, ever since I found out that bribery is so widespread in Hungarian football, I have stopped supporting any team. However, I like football and I commit sins sometimes. If there is a television broadcast of a football game, I watch it, and then blame myself for being so lazy. But I repeat this mistake later.

[Kanyo] Football promises to continue to be a rough area, but so does the press too. At your press conference in Moscow, you said that the Hungarian journalists are free to do and write anything. We welcomed this, but I will, nevertheless, ask you whether you think that everything is in order in this respect and whether the framework in which we are currently working cannot be broadened?

[Grosz] The question is not fair. It contains one-half of a sentence, and conceals the other half....

[Kanyo] Excuse me, and I ask for the second half.

[Grosz] A maximum of openness on the part of the leadership, readiness for the support of the activity carried out by the press, and proper self-restraint on the part of the press— these are the bases for correct cooperation. Naturally, the framework can be broadened, because this is infinite like the world. We can never get to the end of things because it is public life that creates information. Politicians and journalists need new

information as well as better cooperation. I mean cooperation in the real sense of the word. Therefore, the framework can and must be widened, but the rules must also be kept.

[Kanyo] What do you mean, Comrade Grosz?

[Grosz] For example, journalists should refrain from asking questions on state secrets because this would not be fair.

[Kanyo] I did not intend to ask you such questions. However, you have revealed a secret today.

[Grosz] It seems that I was not careful enough. What was it?

[Kanyo] The fact that the media (including the radio, television, and NEPSZABADSAG) will report on the Central Committee session of 13 July. Will this become a standard practice and part of the party's new workstyle in the future?

[Grosz] This will be exactly like my traveling with the regular Malev flight. If it is possible, we will use it; if another solution is desirable, then we will not use it.

[Kanyo] If you have already mentioned your traveling with the regular flight, let me ask you about the questions the other passengers asked you on your flight to Moscow. What issues interested these people most?

[Grosz] Well, they asked me a lot of questions since they were interested in a lot of things. They asked me what I would do in Moscow. When I told them that I would meet Comrade Gorbachev, they immediately came up with the next question on the content of our talks.

[Kanyo] Just like at a press conference....

[Grosz] Yes. And they also asked me about my views on the Hungarian political situation. People, therefore, are interested in the same issues as the leadership: the way things will develop, whether we can stop the deterioration in our economic situation, and when to expect improvement. For the time being, I was unable to promise them too much good. I told them that we would have to work hard because only in this way would things improve. I am confident that things will improve, and, as I saw it, people were also confident.

They also asked me about my hobbies, about the last time I went hunting, and whether I would take a holiday. I also had to give innumerable autographs, without glasses, with bad pens, on bad paper, in a moving plane, so I now deny all those signatures.

[Kanyo] Since we have been talking about trips, can I ask you about your next trip?

[Grosz] My next trip will take me to Warsaw, at the invitation of Comrade Jaruzelski. We will not be able to use the same practice of traveling on a regular flight because I will not be alone there, and other officials will also be expected in Warsaw. (Karoly Grosz will leave for the session of the Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative Committee to be held in Warsaw—Editor's Note.) On such occasions, the planes arrive according to a precise timetable so that the host can receive everyone without having to shuttle between the airport and the city.

Then, my next trip will also begin with a regular Malev flight to Zurich, our first stop on the way to Chicago, our first leg in our planned trip to the United States.

[Kanyo] What do you expect from this trip in the United States?

[Grosz] I expect a lot, primarily, however, I expect political values. If I am not mistaken, no Hungarian Government delegation has visited the United States for some 42 years. This in itself reflects the importance of the upcoming visit and it also shows that we are making this trip at a time when the current president's mandate is approaching its end. It is perhaps also because of this that our hosts set up our program in such a way to be able to meet not only with President Reagan but also with the two major presidential candidates, Vice President Bush and Mr Dukakis, the Democrats' presidential nominee.

These meetings will provide opportunities to conduct a dialogue with the other great power of the world, to express the Hungarian opinion on certain issues, and to inform our hosts about the Hungarian search for solutions. This is an opportunity that must be appreciated. It is also very important that we will be able to inform our hosts about our economic concepts. We should not delude ourselves: Not much is known about Hungary in the United States. People who originate from Hungary have repeatedly drawn our attention to the fact that we are to blame for this state of affairs. We should not wait for the businessmen of such a huge country to come to us and have a look around. We are the ones who should go there and show ourselves and reveal the business opportunities; once we do this, these businessmen will also sign concrete agreements with us.

[Kanyo] When do you go for a holiday?

[Grosz] I do not know. I do know, however, what dates I put down on paper. The monastic order requires everyone to state at the beginning of the year when he intends to go on his vacation, and I wrote: 15 August to 15 September, but it is highly improbable that I will be able to go on a vacation this year. I would like to finish this year's program of government work in order to be able to ask for my release as premier as soon as possible, because there are only 2 years left until the party congress, the preparation of which is a serious task.

[Kanyo] There is not much time left for the family and your grandchildren under such an intensive work program.

[Grosz] Indeed, this job is very time-consuming. My family life has become more difficult not only because of this, but also because of my wife's long illness. She has undergone several serious operations lately and is now getting better. The fact that we have been living together with my elder son's family ever since we moved to Budapest makes things easier. They returned their council apartment and we divided our 5-room service apartment. Our son lives with his wife and our two grandchildren in two rooms, and we live in two and one-half rooms. Among other things, this has the advantage that, this way, we can see two of our four grandchildren more frequently.

Ministry 'Communique' on Consulate Closure

AU1207155788 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 6 Jul 88 p 9

[MTI: "Ministry of Foreign Affairs Communique—Consular Protection for Hungarian Citizens Traveling to Romania]

[Text] After the closing down of the Hungarian Consulate General in Kolozsvar [Cluj], as of 29 July [date as published], the protection of interests at the consular level for Hungarian citizens traveling to or staying in the SR of Romania will be provided by the Consular Section at the Embassy of the Hungarian People's Republic. The address of the Consular Section is: Bucharest, 63, Alexandru Sahia St.; telephone: 15-82-73.

'Communique' Corrected

AU1207155988 [Editorial Report] Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian on 7 July on page 8 carries the following unattributed announcement correcting the date of 29 July published in the 6 July issue of NEPSZABADSAG on page 9:

"The Ministry of Foreign Affairs announces: A mistaken date was given in the communique published on 6 July on the protection of interests at the consular level of Hungarian citizens traveling to or staying in Romania. According to a correction by the ministry, the protection of the interests of Hungarian citizens in Romania at the consular level has been provided by the Consular Section of the Hungarian Embassy in Bucharest since 29 June."

No further processing planned.

'Tragic Mistakes' of Iran Airbus Incident

AU1207082188 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 7 Jul 88 p 2

[Article by Tibor Posa: "Tragic Mistakes"]

[Text] Fiery trails blazed from the two anti-aircraft missiles launched from the "USS Vincennes" at 1053 local time on 3 July. Within seconds, the target-seeking system of the standard-type weapons homed in on the engines of the Iran Air Airbus A-300 which had taken off 7 minutes before from Bandar Abbas on a scheduled flight and the fate of its 290 passengers was doomed. What could be the reason for the inability of the world's most modern computerized target-seeking system to distinguish between a behemoth passenger aircraft and a lightning-fast fighter plane? Can there be any explanation for the fact that a passenger aircraft on a scheduled flight, flying above international waters and in a marked air corridor, was simply annihilated by the military forces of a country located thousands of kilometers from the area? How many instances of such "terrible but understandable accidents" and "fatal coincidences" are needed to make the competent people in the countries involved in the Gulf crisis understand that the present hopeless and explosive situation can only lead to further "tragic mistakes"?

Ready for Action [subhead]

Since the inadvertent attack on the "USS Stark" in the spring of 1987 in which a missile launched by an Iraqi fighter killed 37 Marines, the U.S. naval units have been protecting "free shipping" in the area with fully loaded weapons. The accumulation of warships and air power, which is without precedent in peacetime (30 U.S. warships are deployed in the area), has perpetuated the danger that the conflict would expand. It is true that Iran has perceptibly been avoiding more serious encounters with the U. S. fleet—if one ignores one or two skirmishes; but the fact that the United States has accepted an increasingly larger role in safeguarding the safety of the Gulf has not contributed to accelerating the conclusion of the 8-year Iraq-Iran war.

According to the majority of U.S. opinions, the captain of the "USS Vincennes" was only doing his job and acted according to standing orders: He shot at an aircraft approaching with presumably "offensive intentions" on the basis of the right of self-defense. According to experts, the Aegis high-technology system requires 15 seconds to identify an aircraft on approach to a warship. Competent people have stated that it is practically impossible to mistake the blip of a passenger carrier on the radar screen for that of an F-14 fighter. According to reports, Captain Will Rogers had 3 minutes to weigh his decision and do his utmost to identify the plane as accurately as possible and obtain information about its intentions.

The U.S. excuses are fading away one after the other. Since the earliest statements were made, it has become clear that the Iranian aircraft was flying along an international air corridor and, in contrast to the U.S. statements, the most recent reports confirm that the Airbus did respond to the warnings from the "Vincennes." A report originating from the United Arab Emirates claims that in the course of the recent 1 and ½ months, the U.S. vessel has also forced several civilian airplanes to change route because "it could not identify them."

Critical Moments [subhead]

In the critical moments, the captain of the "Vincennes" undoubtedly remembered the mistake committed by the crew of the "USS Stark" when, in May 1987, the commanders of the U.S. cruiser underestimated the dangers posed by the attacking Iraqi airplane. One should also remember that prior to downing the Airbus, the "Vincennes" was involved in fights with Iranian gunboats, and this could have made the captain's decision more complicated or, perhaps, premature.

Indignation in Tehran is understandably enormous. Ayatollah Khomeyni has called for "total war" against the United States. The Iranian leadership is calling for revenge for this "barbarian slaughter," this "premeditated murder," and has instructed its "resistance networks" abroad to carry out attacks against U.S. agencies throughout the world. The fate of the 15 Western hostages—among them the 9 U.S. hostages held captive in Beirut in particular—is cause for serious concern; many people fear that the pro-Iranian kidnappers of these hostages might execute them as a retribution. Analysts have it that if Iran carries out its threats, this might lead to unforeseeable consequences.

The Western world, expressing its shock and sympathy, mostly considers the U.S. actions which have led to the tragedy as understandable. The conclusion drawn practically everywhere has been that this tragic event also demonstrates that everything should be done to eliminate the Iraq-Iran crisis. The position taken by UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher—which decisively agrees with the U.S. actions—deviates perhaps most from all the other positions. A UK parliamentary delegation recently visited Tehran and a certain thaw was discernible in the very cold relations between these two countries. Experts evaluate that the opinions of Mrs Thatcher, who confirmed her earlier position also on 6 July, could eliminate the results achieved hitherto, and her conduct could also endanger the lives of the three UK citizens held captive in Beirut.

The moderate and subdued tone in which the events were analyzed in Moscow have met with worldwide approval. A TASS communique unambiguously considered the downing of the passenger aircraft as a result of the Washington power policy, but avoided outbursts. Observers say that the Soviet leadership thinks that maintaining continuous dialogue between the big powers is more important than propaganda goals, and does not want to artificially obstruct Soviet-U.S. relations. In Moscow, Spokesman Gerasimov has again reiterated an earlier Soviet proposal according to which UN forces should guarantee the safety of shipping in the Gulf.

Naturally, the international press has immediately recalled the downing of an airplane belonging to the South Korean airline in the vicinity of the Kamchatka Peninsula 5 years ago. People draw individual comparisons between the two events. Some people think that the Soviet Union was the victim of a provocation on 1 September 1983 because KAL flight 007 deliberately flew over strategically important bases and failed to respond to the Soviet fighters' warning signals. In comparison, the airplane of the Iranian Airlines was flying over international waters, within a marked air corridor, during daylight, and in good visibility conditions. Other people keep saying that the Iranian passenger aircraft was flying "over a combat area" and carrying out maneuvers which could be interpreted as hostile. The "wild campaign" which was led against Moscow 5 years ago will probably not be repeated against Washington this time. The fact that Marshal Akhromeyev, chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, began his visit in Washington on 6 July also proves this. However, the opinions and statements in the Moscow newspapers claim that the time has come for Washington to draw the conclusions from hopelessness and dangers inherent in the flaunting of forces in the Gulf.

Tense Situation [subhead]

However, Washington decisively rejects the possibility that the matter of the passenger plane, which was downed because of a "coincidence of chance events," makes it necessary to withdraw the U.S. fleet from the area. President Reagan has said that the U.S. military force will have to continue to secure free shipping in the area. The state of alert among the military units has not been stepped down and the order to open fire remains in effect. An examination of this affair by the Navy is expected to be concluded in 2 weeks, and the U.S. Government seems to be willing to pay compensation to the victims' relatives. Beyond expressions of regret, there has been no formal apology for the time being, although some experts find this moment favorable for Washington and Tehran to perhaps establish relations and for the two countries confronting each other to launch direct talks.

The situation in the Gulf is explosive and commercial shipping has almost totally stopped. Most of the Western airlines have canceled their flights over this area. There is tangible fear of possible reprisals in the large Western cities. Regrettably, only few signs show that the death of these 290 innocent people has made the people concerned see reason and at long last has convinced them to try and prevent tragic mistakes once and for all by holding talks instead of relying on the strength and perfection of weapons.

Grosz Congratulates Jaruzelski on Birthday

AU1207162488 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 7 Jul 88 p 8

[Text] MSZMP General Secretary and Premier Karoly Grosz sent a congratulatory telegram to Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the PPR State Council, on the occasion of his 65th birthday.

Premier Grosz Views 1st Year in Office

LD1207232288 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1855 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Interview with Hungarian Prime Minister and MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz by Endre Aczel, editor in chief of "Newsreel," in the studio—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] On the first half of this program you will see a report on what the government headed by Karoly Grosz has planned and done since he was elected prime minister. The report will be followed by an interview with the prime minister. Karoly Grosz will speak to Endre Aczel, editor in chief of "Newsreel." [passage omitted]

[Aczel] Good evening. Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary and our prime minister, is sitting opposite me here in the studio. If you will allow it, the first question is a little reminder. In September 1987, a scant year ago, you said to a Polish journalist, I will try to quote: I have to say that it is not likely that the government I now lead will go down in history as one of the victorious governments. Do you still feel this way?

[Grosz] Yes, that invariably is my opinion. When I phrased this sentence, I did so, not under the impact of the mood at the moment, but I had earlier often thought through this period and the tasks which must be accomplished. By period I mean that all the lessons which we face and we have jointly worked out via very, very, very many debates. These debates last for a long time, for at least 10-15 years, and during this time we must resolve issues which life earlier had not put on the agenda. Properly speaking, a concept of the unknown must be elaborated; beyond the concept, the practical implementation must be started. We cannot think through every detail. So, It is more than probable that there will be very many conflicts in the future which we cannot even envision, which we are not thinking of now. So, it is not probable that in the short term, in the 10-15 year period, this path will be characterized throughout by successes. The consequence is that, as long as I am part of this government, it is not probable that successes will follow in its train.

Of course, in the long term the result of this will bear fruit. I am convinced of this, because if I were not, I would not undertake this work.

[Aczel] I understand. But, let us say that—borrowing the expression from the statement given to the Polish journalist—it is a period which will not be victorious. But in the final analysis, it may nevertheless turn out that the process which you, or rather your team, launched will result in victory from a historical perspective. I am now referring to the historical perspective, because we always say that socialism is in a period of renewal; it is going through a change of direction of historical dimensions, where many conflicts, many clashes of interest must be expected. These conflicts do not bear in themselves solely the seeds of problems, but also of successes and victories. Is that not so?

[Grosz] That is it precisely, its seeds, but I would again like to say that the road will be long. It is true that we are undergoing a renewal of historical dimensions; we are beginning to seek a path of historical significance. Well now, if it is true that this undertaking which we have set for ourselves is so long, then we also have to realistically expect that it will not be an excursion; we will not walk there. We have to expect very many conflicts. People live for today when they take stock of their problems and their cares. They do not think that in 15-20 years there will be a finer world, that they will live in better conditions. I do not believe that I will be prime minister until then.

[Aczel] But now, to remain in this philosophical channel, do you not think that it nevertheless is a propelling force for people, that it will be better, different for their children? That in their own, immediate surroundings people are at least willing to make sacrifices so that it will be better for their progeny? Are you not building on this?

[Grosz] I undoubtedly have to build on this. It is the most important thing from which I can draw faith and trust. However, we have in the past decades professed or represented a very particular philosophy, and this was not without justification. We said that we were building this society, this world, not just for the future but for ourselves as well. To be sure, let us admit that we worked very hard, but the result was not enough, and we lived better than we worked efficiently. Now, I have deliberately worded it thus. I did not say that we lived better than we worked, but that we lived better than the extent to which we worked fruitfully. We grew accustomed to the final result of our daily work being immediately palpable, and we lived better and better, nearly systematically.

[Aczel] Every year wages increased by 2-3 percent, people grew accustomed....

[Grosz, interrupting] That is exactly the way it was. If we work only a little better, and we live only a little better, but we always work better and we always live better. Well, this world now does not tolerate this little better work, because it is going at much greater haste than we

earlier imagined. It is not true that we were not making progress as regards ourselves. We progressed more slowly compared with the world. This is where our conflict comes from, really.

[Aczel] Will you allow me, however, to return to the government's everyday matters. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied if you think of the work and the performance of this team? Although, to be frank, as a supporter of this government, I would not weigh up what has been accomplished primarily and basically on the performance of 12 months.

[Grosz] Thank you. You are very much a humanist. I cannot allow myself and the government this. If the citizen says that the government is making great efforts, and it has already done something; if this government has begun seeking a way toward something unknown in many spheres where earlier it did not seek anything new, then it is good if he feels this and it is good for the government. However, I am very dissatisfied. I am very dissatisfied with the results, not with our efforts.

It is true that we made many efforts. However, I told parliament last September that we had formulated a program. In truth, we had not perfected this concept, it was not finished, the program had not been completed. So this program had not been assembled, as regards its detailed elements. And I said that we must build and work on the program as we went. And the daily problems must be solved, that is, the daily problems and contradictions must be dealt with as we went.

Now, it appears to me that in recent time, in this 1 year, we have made very many efforts to solve the daily troubles and problems, and we have not devoted enough relative attention to the further working out of the concept. That, first, is why I am dissatisfied.

Second, I am dissatisfied because what we are doing now is one-sided to a certain extent. To be specific, as a result of very great debates, many intellectual efforts, pondering, I feel that it is beginning, somewhat, to develop in the economy's system, mechanism of management. [sentence as heard]

At the same time we have forgotten two very important things. One is that there is no perfect mechanism which could make an imperfect concept work well. So if we give priority to not the most modern industrial branches, or those with perspective, in the structure change, in the transformation of the economy's structure, this economic structure, no matter how perfect the system of management is, will make an obsolete structure operate more, and this would lead to losses and not results.

So it is here that I feel we have fallen behind. At the most recent session of parliament the industry minister in his report cast light on individual elements of this and on the directions in which we should be looking. I will be specific and speak not just in general terms.

We now are planning, and have arranged, very tough measures in the interest of stepping up the efficiency of metallurgy and coal-mining, but it is too little to hold back individual branches quantitatively; new ones must be developed, ones such as the telephone sector, for which there is a great need in Hungary, and which is a marketable product when modernized. Let us say that tourism must be developed more expediently, because so far we have developed it quantitatively, we are not really able to serve 20 million tourists in a cultured manner. I will continue to list these - I just wanted to indicate them.

We must explore new spheres, modern spheres, in the development of the economy, and neither are we spared from this by our doing a big job in the modernizatiton of the mechanism.

[Aczel] Excuse me, are we talking about areas where we are, will be, competitive internationally? For I know that there are many illusions attached to investments of a very large degree having to be implemented in electronics and other areas, that is that the industrial sectors that can pull the others behind them must be developed, but I believe that there is room for debate with this idea.

[Grosz] Yes, this is true. Look, in every country—and this is natural—they watch the neighbors. They look at the successful countries; from what, how, in what way did they achieve great results? At these times, there is a great inclination for copying, but this is a bad source of advice. It must not be copying, for where those who have earlier started on a path, and have made great successes there, we can, I think, only be permanently second. So, we must chose a track where we start alone, pioneering. We are not running alone, many are running, but we are the frontrunners. So, we can be the first there. So, we must look for alternatives that correspond to the Hungarian characteristics.

[Aczel] Permit me to quote another of your statements. On board the plane home from Bonn, the FRG, again almost a year ago, you said to my colleague Istvan Sandor that you respect, if not are amazed at the West Germans for the fact that they always want to be first. They do not know the meaning of being second.

[Grosz] Yes, at the time, too, I said this seriously, and also avow this today. In a country, in a people, in an individual citizen, and in a leader, too, there must be self-respect. A self-respect which stimulates greater achievement. I have for a long time professed and I have often been criticized for this too—that here, somewhere, I am creating an ideological basis for careerism when I say that I like those people who want to be more than they are, who want to be more in such a way that in the meantime they are producing, that is, they want to advance at the price of increasing performance. This is what I experienced in the FRG, and in my opinion this spirit must be implanted in Hungarian practice too.

In Hungary, very many people wou ld like to be more, but they do not undertake to work more efficiently, too, for this. I put it this way again, they should not work more—I am not calling anyone to account for that—but they should work more efficiently, producing greater results.

[Aczel] What if that same man points the finger back at you, at the government you lead, that the economic environment you have created up to now is not suited to promoting greater performance?

[Grosz] Whoever points the finger at us is formulating much truth when he says this. But, apart from that, that man could have produced a great deal more in this present economic environment than he has produced so far. So, I do not absolve ourselves. Not at all! I am not absolving the government, the experts, for the fact that they did not work out tools which were stimulating enough, on the one hand. On the other hand—And I say this, too, I have said this once already, written it in a newspaper article—they did not work out enough tools which would be an incentive to greater performance. And, for me, these two make up a whole together.

At the same time, I also say that the individual citizen too—with respect, of course, to exceptions, and there are always exceptions—did not make better use of the possibilities which the present frameworks offer. I do not want to get lost in examples, I could list a great many, but in my opinion everyone can list numerous examples from their own surroundings. Just one, for example: The use in 24 hours, 1 day, of our machines, imported machines put into production last year, is barely 9 hours. And so on, and so on. This is not just a matter of the regulator, it is not just a matter of incentive—although it is that, too—but this is workplace organization, cooperation.

If I tell you that in 1986, only from penalty pay, from faulty products, from punitive interests, the loss to the economy was about the same as the planned budget deficit for 1988, then I have told you a great deal from this.

[Aczel] Now, you referred in your previous answer to the means of coercion and compulsion. Do you agree that the program to be submitted to the Central Committee tomorrow, on the directions of our economic development, is trying with a so far unseen radicalism to bring about these coercive economic conditions? To me, it raises the possibility in rather dramatic terms of measures of the kind which one is unable to applaud on first reading, or unable at least before one thinks of what he has read from the perspective of economic rationalism and the intention to accept risks.

[Grosz] Yes, this is so. This is a very though program. Last year, when we contempated whether it should be for these 3 years, that is, 1988, 1989 and 1990, it was a realistic objective to halt the increase in the debt stock. We knew even then that tough measures had to be taken for the sake of this. Nevertheless, we did not plan such radical measures. But since then, we have noted that the public—most recently, for example, the deputies in parliament—is becoming impatient toward the government, is expecting more resolute measures, and the government must acknowledge this as an objective fact which it must anticipate. So this, if you like, is the social pressure, behind which is the fact that a certain bitter pill must be swallowed. So, let us then swallow it and let us not think about it too long. So there is this knd of thinking which is pushing the government, the leadership, to advance even more resolutely, with even more courage.

[Aczel] And is this same government also ready to shoulder the tensions referred to in this document? One does not go without the other.

[Grosz] Well, look. These are interdependent systems. If we want to go forward on one side, to take the measures which will bring results, then we must also anticipate their unpleasant consequences as well. This is always to the detriment of a minority, for the entire mechanism of all this is that it does not want to advance on the fullest, broadest front but it wants to take resolute steps in a few areas which represent a very heavy burden for a thin layer.

[Aczel] This, I think, is the first time that the government has faced the choice that not everyone can be pleased, and the conflict of interests and the conflict which arises during the interplay and manifestation of interests no longer appear merely on paper or on the drawing-board. Do you think these conflicts, which obviously in your own view will be rather powerful, can be slotted into the tolerance of society as a framework?

[Grosz] Well look, I have my own view and opinion on the limits of this social tolerance. This society has already shouldered much greater burdens than what needs to be shouldered now. It shouldered them nevertheless, due to some reason. This reason more than likely was that it understood why it had to shoulder it. I have faith that it will understand this as well if we have enough patience, enough arguments. For this will be accepted not out of sympathy, but on the basis of rational arguments. We will have enough arguments to explain why this step will have to be taken. So these limits of social tolerance are not some kind of stable line, element, which does not go up or down. They can be shaped, expanded, depending on how and in what way we can win over public opinion for ourselves.

In my consideration, the first and main task of the government today—and this is also true for the party—is to carry on along the course on which it set off in the middle of last year, to increasingly involve public opinion in its plans, ideas, to obtain more and more allies for itself, and to obtain encouragement and support for this great undertaking. I do not ask people to be enthusiastic

and to applaud; this is an unrealistic demand. All I ask is that they bear it, and accept and understand—I do not even ask them to believe, but only to understand—that this is happening for the sake of the future of all of us. The reason I say that they should not believe it is that they have already been disappointed quite a few times. So I am not asking them to lend me their confidence but to think it through calmly, take account of the facts, take account of our arguments, and put side by side the concrete elements which, when assembled, may build the little house we are all working on.

[Aczel] If you would permit me one more question, and this relates to something that is also included in this Central Committee document, namely that this strong, radical plan for economic development, or economic stabilization, also has a component that builds on the goodwill of the foreign creditors. I do not know whether the expression I have just used is correct or not. It seems to me that, together with all our existing problems and those we can still expect, we are rather liked abroad, that is, we are much more a positive example from many aspects than a negative example. Thus, I assume that the goodwill will be there. Now, this rather circuitous introduction really relates to the fact that you will soon visit the United States, the first Hungarian premier to do so for 40 years. Is there something forced in the connection I am now making between the Hungarian economy's need for credit and your visit to the United States?

[Grosz] Well, let us start from a little further back. I consider that during the past decades the foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic has won great esteem in the world. This foreign political prestige, achievement, that is, this openness, this unequivocal humanist outlook, this endeavor towards peace, this willingness to cooperate with all those who want to work together in the interest of humanity and our mutual interests, have been received well; this has increased the prestige of the Hungarian People's Republic. At the same time, one also has to add the fact that the domestic economic performance during the past decade or decade and a half has decreased this prestige and this esteem. I would like to add, of course, that the domestic social conditions of the Hungarian People's Republic, its life, do not comprise merely the economy; culture enjoys great prestige, so does public life, openness, democratization; but let us admit, this economy has made our prestige a little more threadbare.

[Grosz] This government consequently deems it very important that it should make this present search for the correct path and the ideas involved in this, its endeavors, understood by the world, to explain them to the world, to share the problems with them, quite simply so that they should believe that this standstill—because I can safely say that during the past 10-15 years one can see a standstill in the sphere of economic development—is a passing phenomenon, one that we will transcend, and that we have a concept, we know what we want, and that we are looking for those methods which will function more effectively than those that we have used to date. Now we have to explain all this to the world because otherwise they will not stand by us. We are too small for the world to look at this great endeavor with a sense of awe. There is a Hungarian saying that good wine needs no fancy label. This is not my experience in the sphere of politics. Even good political endeavours need a little propaganda. Even these endeavors have to gain acceptance.

This is what we have undertaken to do during these weeks or months when I myself and my colleagues as well have traveled quite a lot in the world, trying to gain allies and to win support for this program. Now, it would be rather an oversimplification all the same to say that we have undertaken these journeys primarily to gain more credit or to create more joint enterprises, though I confess quite frankly that these are also among the goals. But the government, just as a citizen, lives off the market.

However, our fundamental goal has nevertheless been to strengthen this already existing openness in the sphere of foreign policy and to gain acceptance for this new approach to the economy within the sphere of domestic politics. I feel that we have succeeded in creating an interest in our endeavors. Very many people sympathize with this undertaking; very many people are rooting for us, though, naturally, there are also doubts, just as we have some doubts as well.

These doubts will be resolved not by trips abroad and words but by specific deeds, that is, results. Thus, I feel that the world has now given us a great deal of trust, and this trust is rather in the nature of an advance. We will have to earn it through our work in the future, and in that case we will be able to build further this system of relations.

We have done a great deal in this sphere. Let me just mention one thing here. A good 6 months ago people laughed at me over this—but just look at it—we introduced this passport system, passports valid for the whole world. Everyone can travel with the exception of that very narrow band which amounts to something like 0.3 percent of the total applicants, and three and a half times as many people traveled during the first 6 months of the year than last year. I could go on listing partial measures which in themselves are not very significant but, taken together, they indicate some sort of new approach. There is a great deal of interest and sympathy toward this approach.

[Aczel] Yes, could it be said that our shop sign toward the outside world is frankness, but we would not be too upset if this shop sign changed from frankness to performance?

[Grosz] Well, I think that frankness must be retained under any circumstances. There is nothing that can replace it. But we must certainly put performance next to

it. In those countries where I have paid visits to date and in those countries which I will visit in the near future in accordance with the program—I have studied all of them; this is natural, one prepares for these trips—in all these countries the welfare of the country and of the people, have developed in line with their performance, their actual performance. In other words, what we have to do is not to speak but act in the interest of a better performance.

[Aczel] Comrade Grosz, thank you for this conversation.

[Grosz] You are welcome.

Report on MSZMP Politburo Session 12 July

LD1207170588 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] The party's Politburo held a session today at which it heard Karoly Grosz's report on his talks in Moscow with Mikhail Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders. It discussed a submission on political openness, on the renewal of information, and on the party's activity in the press. It decided that it will release for debate its draft stance concerning this and, using the experiences of this, will submit this to the Central Committee at the appropriate time.

The Politburo adopted the proposal concerning the composition of the committees and work collectives operating alongside the Central Committee, and it also dealt with other personnel issues.

13 July Central Committee Session Previewed

LD1207170888 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] The MSZMP will meet tomorrow. The Politburo is recommending that the Central Committee discuss the report on this year's experiences in developing the people's economy, recommendations concerning the main directions for next year's development, the principles of the rights of assembly and association, the spheres of authority of the Central Committee and the Politburo, and personnel questions.

During the day Hungarian radio will report on the Central Committee session in the "Noon Chronicle" and in newscasts and provide on the spot coverage in the "Evening Magazine" program. Television will carry a 60-minute newsreel on the Central Committee session at the usual time.

Gorbachev Continues Official, Friendly Visit

Tours Bialy Dunajec, Poronin

LD1207123488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee arrived in Krakow today. He was met at the airport by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

The Soviet and Polish leaders then left for Bialy Dunajec to visit a Lenin House-Museum. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev viewed the museum's exhibition, talked with the staff, and signed a visiting guests of honor book. He later visited Poronin, another commemorative site linked with Lenin's stay in Poland, where he laid flowers at a monument erected in honor of Lenin.

Addresses Poronin Ceremony

LD1207175988 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1222 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Speech by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev given at the Lenin Monument in Poronin 12 July; speech transcribed from Russian—live]

[Excerpts] Mikhail Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski stopped for a while in front of the Lenin Monument. Two wreaths and bouquets of flowers—the latter laid by their spouses Raisa Maksimovna and Barbara Jaruzelska—are at the foot of the monument. The wreaths are from the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the PZPR Central Committee. Let us read the inscription on the ribbon in detail: To the great Lenin from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The second wreath has this inscription: To the great Lenin, the leader of the revolution, from the PZPR Central Committee. The festive ceremony is now over, the wreaths are laid. Mikhail Gorbachev, Wojciech Jaruzelski, and his spouse cross the small bridge leading to the little square we have repeatedly shown you, ladies and gentlemen, the little square in front of the Lenin monument and museum.

It is very difficult to convey this to you, ladies and gentlemen; this is, as it were, a breach of protocol, of the procedure of this visit, which provided now for the handing over of commemorative gifts. As we have seen, a girl in the highlander dress planted a cordial kiss on Raisa Gorbacheva. [passage omitted]

[Gorbachev] Hello comrades. [applause] Both myself, Comrade Jaruzelski, and our entire delegation are pleased to be able to meet you here in Poronin, as you say. [passage indistinct] The first thing that I wish to say to you on behalf of our country's communists, on behalf of our people is this: We are greatly and sincerely grateful to you for the memory you have preserved here: the memory of Ilich is [word indistinct] dear to us; but we are very happy to see that it is also close and dear to you, to Poles, to all the country's working people. Thank you for all that you are doing so that this memory (?may live for ever). Thank you! [applause]

It is our shared duty—my duty and Comrade Jaruzelski's duty, the duty of our people and your people—to continue the cause begun by Lenin. You know, currently there are many discussions under way in your country about what the future Poland should be like. If only you could see what a discussion is underway in our country, about what the USSR should be like. Well, take our latest event—the party conference. All 280 million people sat in front of their television screens. But, you know, I should tell you sincerely: Discussions, searching, and debates went on for 3 years, as did very responsible criticism, self-criticism, and an uncompromising analysis of all that we have been doing. And I want to tell you that the main, the chief conclusion which has been arrived at—not by me, nor my comrades, or just us alone, but by all the people—is for socialism.

And the question, will it not weaken socialism, is always inherent in everything new that we are doing. This means that our people has again voted—like it did in October 1917—for Lenin's choice, for socialism. But we should be doing everything so that this system, a system of the working people, should be made fully responsive to the needs of the working people, so that life in our countries, in its entirety, is organized by the people themselves, directed by them. That is the most important thing.

A majority of errors which have been permitted to take place in our country and in your country alike could have been avoided if our peoples had been permanently involved during these years in the process of tackling the most complex problems. When this is done behind closed doors, errors are unavoidable. The biggest errors of all are political errors. This is not in the same category as [words indistinct] or the malfunctioning of a machine tool or a single part being below standard. All this does happen. However, as far as the political level is concerned, it is imperative to avoid political mistakes. [preceding sentence transcribed from Polish translation] This is because countries and peoples have to pay dear for this. It is possible to avoid mistakes by proceeding along just one path—the wide path of the nationwide discussion of all problems. If this was absent, socialism was not to blame; no, because deviations did take place and we have to state this honestly. We are sure that we and you proceed along the correct path. As with every path, especially if it is a long path, a path along which the people are proceeding, it is always a far from simple path. Difficulties, upsurges, and declines and [words indistinct] everything will be encountered along this path, as is the case with every path.

If we look back—and our states have very long histories—many things have happened during this historical process. Today, however, our states are modern and we

have cultivated peoples. Therefore, it is up to us to reach new heights too. Let us not be soft or start panicking. Let us be even more firm, in accordance with our capabilities, efficiency, and responsibility. Let us watch democratic mechanisms, what comes of them, and let us correct what goes wrong in good time. This is the first part. And the second part: I want to assure you that our people has a profound desire to improve relations with the people of Poland. New opportunities have opened here too. We in the Soviet Union have given a high appraisal to an initiative submitted by the leadership headed by Comrade Jaruzelski. Interesting proposals are aimed at developing our relations and filling them with a new content in economics, science, and in the spiritual sphere. And you know, it looks very interesting. Those of you who have already become engaged in this (? process of implementation) can see that this is right. [words indistinct]. You may rest assured that we adhere to friendship with the Polish people firmly, for a long time—forever. Problems can arise here, too. But I think that the way things are now taking shape (? with our cooperation) makes it possible for us both to see and to solve all problems in a timely way, and again without getting nervous or giving in to emotions.

I am very pleased to meet you. Again, many thanks for this meeting, for the good mood which is in evidence here. Wojciech Wladyslaw and myself can say one thing: We will cooperate proceeding from our peoples' interests. Thank you very much. [applause]

Addressed by Jaruzelski at Krakow

LD1207183888 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1727 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at Krakow Youth meeting in Wawel Castle—live]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Gorbachev, young comrades, citizens! The jewel of Polish cities, ancient Krakow, a great center of science and culture, today warmly welcomes the Soviet friends within its distinguished walls. On Wawel Hill the history of past centuries is most fully intertwined with the experiences of contemporary generations. Here, for 5 long years, the Nazi governor lorded over everything. He wrote the ominous sentence in his diary: There would not be enough trees in Polish forests to provide the paper if I were to order a notice to be printed about every public execution.

Krakow was very close to sharing the tragic fate of many other cities. The daring maneuver by the 1st Ukrainian Front, commanded by Marshal Ivan Konev, saved our former capital from destruction and Poland from losing a priceless symbol of the state's lasting nature—the continuity of national culture. You are here, Mikhail Sergeyevich, for the first time, but the fate of the Gorbachev family was earlier linked with this city. Your father, wounded on the field of battle, lay in a field hospital here. For thousands of other Red Army soldiers, Krakow's towers and walls was the last thing they saw. The majority were young boys; they wanted to live, to work, to love. Their daughters, sons, and grandchildren would perhaps have been among us today, in this courtyard. May they be present in our memory!

Dear friends! I am pleased to welcome so many young people from many Soviet Union republics, which are present with us. I greet you all very warmly. [applause]

It would be rather difficult to include me among the youth activists taking advantage of today's meeting. I would however, like to present a few reflections on topics, which I think are close to us all. Polish socialist youth unions have for a long time maintained cordial relations with the Soviet Leninist Komsomol. Succeeding generations of activists have established close contacts, have got to know each other, and share their experiences. Many of these bonds, particularly among high school graduates, have survived and are being developed to this day to each others' mutual benefit. We must also note that often friendship among people was substituted with the friendship between institutions. Komandirovka and the friendship train constituted practically the only chance for visits and meetings.

Today we are primarily concerned with direct, true, and specific bonds. Let the facts of how we live, what we live for, what gladdens us, and what pains us be known to everyone through joint learning and work and also during free friendly meetings.

Let young people, if they desire, visit their contemporaries: Let us see them with backpacks in Moscow and Warsaw, in Krakow and Kiev; this will be the most authentic form of mutually close friendly relations. You are entering a period of political maturity and social activity. It is you who in the next century will develop Polish-Soviet brotherhood. You can give it new color and richer content. Today, historic transformations are taking place on both sides of the River Bug.

Perestroyka and socialist renewal are our joint pass to the 21st century. We have attentively followed the course and results of the 19th CPSU Conference. It emphatically confirmed that since the memorable April plenum in 1985 the land of the Soviets is being rejuvenated; it is pulsating with new life, which proves to the whole world how vital and creative the strengths of our cause are. The participation of Soviet youth is considerable. Each successive generation brings to history its norms and habits. It desires life to be better, more interesting, for the homeland to be well, and prosperously governed. That is the logic of progress. Young people in particular need prospects, space to spread their wings, wide fields for bold ideas and for independence. The times in which we are living are difficult, but at the same time they are great. Thus it is at the same time a special chance for your generation.

Youth, due to the nature of things, is a period which does not last long, a temporary period; it is that exceptional priviledge which is most justly divided between all the inhabitants of our planet. That is why one should not lose time; we must fully utilize the energy characteristic of your generation. Young people everywhere are critical of the existing world. Chaos, stagnation, and conservatism are particularly discouraging for them. The values of socialism, the system of social justice are, on the other hand, in a natural manner cohesive with youthful sensitivity to falseness and wrong.

The point is that there should be more socialism in practice, that reformed, modern, and attractive, it should harmoniously link pure sources with a panoramic outlook. That is how it must be, and that is how it will be. [applause]

Dear Soviet friends! Please allow me at this point to turn to the Polish participants of this meeting. We are a country of young people. The Poland which you are going to build must develop more quickly, be capable of coping with the challenges of the present times. The recent Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum adopted a plan for deepening and intensifying reforms in all areas. The decisions which have been adopted, in particular the bold assumptions of our cadre policy, will be conducive to breaking down the barriers which restrict the advancement of people who are young, conscientious, and talented.

One can say that the party has undertaken a specific commitment toward you, but youth, in itself, does not give a guarantee of wisdom nor does it give a special pass to positions of leadership. We need people who are, quite simply, competent, dynamic, who have a concept of how to act. The needs of the scientific and technological revolution heighten the criteria for assessing a man, irrespective of his profession and his education. Talents and aptitudes become a common good. Ineptitude and indolence—a common burden.

Youth is a kind of mirror in which the older generation may see its reflection. Therefore I have no intention of lecturing you; from the kindergarden to colleges and university—and even further than that—you are being taught without respite.

We know that various demarcation lines run through the young generation; there are various options, among them various ways of viewing the world. We therefore do not generalize—we do not say that you are, all of you, of one sort or of another. Your generation is obviously of another era when it comes to assessing reality—in your likes, in your habits—but basically equally patriotic and capable of coping with the most difficult trials.

Your fathers liked to compare the present to the oh-so-difficult past. They therefore have an awareness of progress, gained at great cost, of the historic achievements of People's Poland. However, they also clearly see the negligence and phenomena that bring discredit to the socialist ideal, which are a degenerate form.

History teaches us about life. Unfortunately, we have not always been good pupils. Be better pupils!

They say we live in a world inherited from our fathers and leased from our successors. We have spared no sacrifice in doing what seemed most urgent; building houses and factories, hospitals and schools. However, the increased level of expectations, the rate of demographic changes, and above all the collapse of economic growth have increased the difficulties. The housing problem has grown to enormous proportions. The earnings ratios have been shaken, to the disadvantage of educated and highly qualified people. Bureaucratic barriers often deter people from taking initiatives.

It is understandable that if on the threshold of adult life the difficulties of getting started become particularly painful, then doubts and bitterness sometimes creep in. however, it doesn't suit young people when they make martyrs out of themselves. A skeptical grimace doesn't just look ugly; it is even comic. There are no foundations for petty minded doubts. We cannot agree with the view about a lost generation. This opinion is basically false. It is a thesis that absolves all escape and inertia. A generation cannot be lost. At most it can lose itself in apathy and in a sense of helplessness.

It was the dream of the great Polish poet who rests in the crypt on Wawel Hill [Slowacki] to turn ordinary mortals into angels. This is futurology, I think. Today, flesh-and-blood people are needed. Hence your impatience, when it is rationally directed and constructive, is essential because the time has come for people who will not tolerate evil, who are defiant and even angry, but who are not passive and not people who don't care.

But patience is needed too. It isn't the favorite virtue when one is young. Reforms so broad and deep that are carried out in such difficult internal and external conditions need time and perseverance. Let us recall the wise words of Turgenev: One mustn't do nothing just because one can't do everything.

Socialism is emerging from the period of stagnation. We are creating together its contemporary model. It is your country, your land. We have no ready-made prescriptions. We are breaking new ground. We are seeking various solutions. Even they were unthinkable not so long ago. It is indispensable for renewal that each of us does his job properly. When we say that we must fight for reform it is no exaggeration. It is a true struggle. We must win. [Applause]

Dear Comrade Gorbachev, it is not easy to win sincere friendship and genuine popularity in Poland. You have succeeded. It is significant that the Polish young people so readily adopted a hit with the unceremonial refrain of "Mikhail, Mikhail." This song was not ordered by special official bodies, nor was it approved by them. It was a spontaneous sign of the feeling and hope linked to you

personally. It is our warmest wish that the cordial atmosphere of the visit will widely embrace our peoples and prevail particularly among the young people.

Today you visited Poronin where Lenin lived and worked for a considerable time. In one of his works entitled "About the Tasks of Youth Unions" there is a famous sentence: "Learn, learn and yet again learn." It has retained its topicality to this day, not only in an academic and educational meaning, but in the sense of to learn democracy, to learn conscientiousness, effective work, all that is new and latest, to learn to live with people and for the people. That is how we primarily today understand the Leninist idea.

I have often spoken here for the young people. Therefore, Mikhail Sergeyevich, I would not wish to thank you for today's meeting. They will do it better. [applause]

Attends Krakow Concert

LD1207212288 Warsaw PAP in English
2046 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 12—Krakow's Wawel Hill which used to be the seat of Polish kings for hundreds of years has not seen such events as took place during the concert in honour of Mikhail Gorbachev tonight.

The highlight of the concert was the performance of the hit "Mikhail, Mikhail, You Will Build a New World," famous not only in Poland, by its author Andrzej Rosiewicz. The song, devoted to the leader of perestroyka who heads the new socialist revolution and constructs a new world, is full of admiration, sympathy and humour.

The performance met with great joy and friendliness of the Soviet leader and his wife Raisa. Gorbachev, accompanied by Wojciech Jaruzelski, received from Rosiewicz a record with the song and cordially congratulated him.

Next Gorbachev was handed the highest distinction granted by Polish children, the Grand Medal of the Order of Smile. Thanking the Soviet leader assured the present [as received] that such an award obliged him to continue his policy. "I would like to say that it may be the highest distinction I have received in my life," he said.

The Grand Medal of the Order of Smile is the only distinction in the world accorded on adults by children.

Departs Krakow

LD1207224988 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
2140 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Late in the evening, Mikhail Gorbachev and his entourage left Krakow by plane.

Mikhail Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski were accompanied on their journey to Krakow by:

On the Soviet side: Eduard Shevardnadze, Vadim Medvedev, Yefrem Sokolov, and Vadim Brovikov;

On the Polish side: Jozef Czyrek and Boguslaw Kolodziejczak.

Solidarity Sends Letter

LD1207153288 Hamburg DPA in German
1406 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Excerpt] Krakow (DPA)—Members of the organizing committee of the banned Solidarity trade union in the Nowa Huta Lenin steelworks have reported that they have sent a letter to Gorbachev. In it they expressed their hope that the words about democratization will be followed by deeds, and that never again should shots be fired at striking workers. Several members of the committee have been summoned for questioning. On Monday four members of the "Freedom and Peace" pacifist group held up banners on the roof of the Krakow textile factory, calling for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland. They were arrested shortly afterwards. [passage omitted]

Further Reportage on Gorbachev Visit

Jaruzelski Interviewed

LD1207170188 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1604 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Interview with General Wojciech Jaruzelski by Tadeusz Zakrzewski on 12 July at Babice Airport, recorded]

[Text] Earlier, at the Babice Airport in Krakow our reporter, Tadeusz Zakrzewski, held an interview with General Wojciech Jaruzelski.

[Begin recording] [Jaruzelski] One can say, using sporting language, that the start was good. Each visit of this kind has two levels; so to speak, the substantive, working level, and let s call it, the emotional level. I think in this case both of them are very positive. Talks we held at the Sejm were characterized by mutual understanding, the convergence of both our intentions, views and aims, and above all, I think, the significant substantive value of our guest's address, and of those agreements we made during talks, which in any case we are going to continue in further talks.

If it is a question of the emotional level, I think that because of television, our society has been able to see how sincerely the guest has been welcomed and at the same time how his personality, his own warmth, spreads to those who welcome him. I would above all like to use this occasion to sincerely thank all those people who so warmly welcomed our guest, which made a great impression on him.

[Zakrzewski] Sir, General, excuse me for interrupting. I have many times noticed that Mikhail Gorbachev has an exceptionally great liking for you, which he publicly emphasizes. How do you receive this?

[Jaruzelski] It is, after all, a mutual feeling. I want to emphasize that. I am doubly pleased that the visit is going the way it is, on the one hand, due to my duties and on the other, precisely because, I consider Comrade Gorbachev to be a person very close to me, to be my friend.

[Zakrzewski] Thank you very much. [end recording]

Gerasimov on Gorbachev Proposal

LD1307042388 Warsaw PAP in English
0201 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 12—Just after midnight on July 13 a press conference was given at the Warsaw Press Centre of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Poland by Jerzy Urban and Gennadiy Gerasimov.

Gerasimov described the second day of the visit as great and full of impressions for the Soviet delegation. Many meetings the Soviet leader held with the residents of Krakow and Pronin, with youth and intellectuals resulted in a two-hour delay in the official schedule.

Referring to the most important event in Tuesdays schedule, that is the meeting with youth at the Wawel Castle, one of the newsmen asked about prospects for boosting the tourist traffic, especially for youth, between the two countries.

Gerasimov said that in this area there were still unnecessary barriers which should be immediately removed. However, there are still persisting stumbling blocks associated with underdevelopment of the tourist facilities and difficulties associated with prices and currencies which cannot be removed fast.

Urban said that Poland wanted very much for its eastern frontier to be easy to cross and that there were no political brakes whatsoever to the development of tourism. The will of both sides is evidenced in the signing of an agreement on opening new border crossings.

Asked to comment on the NATO rejection of Gorbachev's proposal to mutually withdraw a part of Soviet and U.S. Air Forces from airfields outside their territories in Europe, Gerasimov said that such a decision is not known to him but if it has been already taken it should be considered rash. I would not treat such a decision as final, he added.

In reply to a question who will attend the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Polish intellectuals at the Royal Castle here on July 14 Urban stated that invited were 248 persons representing various orientations and scientific and artistic milieus. "I cannot imagine anybody refusing participation in a meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev because of political reasons," Urban answered an additional question on the issue.

Asked whether a press conference with the participation of both leaders will be held at the end of the visit, Urban answered that the conference was not expected but he did not exclude a meeting with a group of journalists.

Soviet Generals Discuss Proposals

LD1307005888 Warsaw PAP in English
1649 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw: July 12—The creation of a European risk-of-war reduction centre as a venue for cooperation between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev during yesterday's meeting of the Sejm would serve the strengthening of security in Europe, the overcoming of distrust, building confidence and better understanding. It would be one more step facilitating disarmament talks and the undertaking of concrete decisions, stressed military experts accompanying the Soviet delegation, General Geliy Batenin and General Yuriy Markielov during today's meeting with a group of Polish military journalists.

At the same time, they referred to the proposal presented by Gorbachev at the Sejm and pertaining to the reduction of armed forces in Europe, including the readiness of the Soviet Union to withdraw its Air Force from forward-deployment sites in Eastern Europe if NATO agrees not to deploy its 72 F-16 fighter-bombers, rejected by Spain, in Italy.

Both generals spoke of numerous initiatives of the Soviet Union and socialist states, including the Jaruzelski Plan, aimed at freeing the world from the danger of a nuclear and conventional war.

Walesa Discusses Perestroyka

AU1307075088 Paris AFP in English
2312 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Paris, July 13 (AFP)—The majority of Poles have little faith in the reform programme introduced in the Soviet Union by Mikhail Gorbachev, the leader of the banned Solidarity trade union, Lech Walesa, has said.

In an interview with French television on the occasion of Soviet leader Gorbachev's visit to Poland, Mr. Walesa said that "many people are enthusiastic about 'perestroyka' (restructuring), especially politicians and people in the West".

But according to Mr. Walesa, 60 per cent of the Polish people had little faith in what he called "a political ploy".

"If Mr. Gorbachev's visit gives us higher wages, then we could start to be confident in his reforms.

"The women and especially the young, want above all concrete reforms and not just words," he added.

Although apparently expecting little from the Soviet leader's four-day visit to Poland, Mr. Walesa said he hoped that Mr. Gorbachev would tell Polish leaders "not to blow hot and cold".

He said that restructuring for Poland "could only be through political and trade union pluralism and the freedom to organise our own associations", adding that current changes in the Soviet Union could advance economic reforms in his country.

Sejm Deputy Views Szczecin Visit

LD1207205388 Warsaw PAP in English 1851 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 12—The Soviet leader's announced visit to Szczecin arouses understandable interest not only among the residents of that city. Chairman of the "Wisla-Odra" society, Sejm Deputy Edmund Meclewski thus commented on the significance of this visit whose contents are clearly linked to the liberation of Szczecin and the early days of reborn Polish statehood in this area:

On March 19 of this year the "Wisla-Odra" society organized in Swinoujscie, the north-western-most point of Poland and, at the same time, part of the Polish port of Szczecin, a rally to renew Poland's espousals with the Baltic Sea. The rally attracted some 15,000 citizens, chiefly young people. Also taking part was a delegation of the Soviet Navy which has its base in the port of Swinoujscie. The presence of the Soviet Army representatives was an expression of friendship, cordial relations linking both our nations and states, and, simultaneously, a full continuation of the allied political line expressed already during the Potsdam Conference where the USSR had fought a victorious battle for establishing Poland's western border on the Odra and Nysa Luzycka Rivers and for incorporating Szczecin and Swinoujscie into Poland.

Decisions contained in the Potsdam agreement, taken unanimously by the allies after unconditional surrender of the Third Reich, were not only adopted but also formally and legally approved and confirmed in the Zgorzelec Treaty of July 6, 1950 signed by the governments of Poland and the GDR.

Sejm Conducts Official Business, Hears Speakers

Sadowski Gives Economic Report

LD1207164488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1030 GMT 12 Jul 88

["Excerpts" of speech by Zdzislaw Sadowski, deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, in the Sejm on 12 July—recorded]

[Text] The tempo of economic growth was slower in 1987 than in previous years. In 1986 the rate of growth was 4 and 9/10 percent, that is, significantly above the assumptions of the 5-year plan; in 1987 it fell to 1 and 7/10 percent. Basically, this fall was influenced by the significant reduction of agricultural production, caused by the exceptionally disadvantageous climatic conditions. Certain positive structural changes occurred in investment processes. The proportion of expenditure for the material production sphere increased. Expenditure on machines and equipment continued to rise faster than expenditure for building and construction [word indistinct].

These very desirable changes can be linked to the systemic transformations carried out and being carried out, and especially with the further increase in the role of investment of enterprises. Their participation in the overall investment outlays of the socialised economy has already reached 56 percent. This bears fruit in the growth of the proportion of modernization-renewal investments. The gradual rise in the range of investment over the past few years, with the clear increase in the share of machines and equipment, has led to the halting of decapitalization and, in a number of branches of industry, to the attainment of a widened reproduction of productive capital, including in the group of machines and equipment.

However, in many branches the level of investment outlays does not yet assure the straightforward reproduction of capital. The development of economic cooperation with abroad can be appropriately described as beneficial. Over the past 2 years, both the volume and the value of trade turnovers with abroad grew at a faster rate. The volume of export grew each year by an average of almost 5 percent, where as that of imports grew by 4.7 percent.

Despite the lower rate of economic growth last year, the consumption of economic goods from personal incomes grew in 1987 by 2.5 percent, that is, faster than the rate of national income. The growth of consumption has overtaken the assumptions of the 5-year plan. On the basis of the economic results of this year on the real side, one can today envision that the achievement of a higher than planned growth of national income will be possible.

Industrial production during the first 6 months of this year has risen by over 6 percent, which is considerably more than the provisions of the central yearly plan, with a considerable increase in productivity. In agriculture, despite periodically unfavorable conditions for plant growth, it is estimated that it will be possible to achieve the level of production estimated in the central yearly plan. In comparison with previous years there is some improvement in housing construction. It is still not satisfactory, but serious efforts are being made to make the essential breakthrough in this field.

The situation in the sphere of balancing the economy is more complex. Here we have made no progress, which is clearly contrary to our intentions and expectations. In

the sphere of balancing external stability, thanks to good export results, the foreign trade balance in both payment zones has improved. An improvement of the trade balance with the second payment zone has enabled apart from indispensable imports, the payment of almost $1.9 billion to service our debts. This amount, from the point of view of our economy's potential, is colossal; it exceeds 25 percent of our foreign currency earnings from exports and thus it is also a colossal inflationary factor.

Despite the fact that it is so great, it does not cover our entire interest obligations. This created a further increase of debt in convertible currencies, and this debt has also increased considerably due to fall in the dollar rate of exchange in relation to other Western currencies. The accumulation of the unpaid portion of interest charges is an issue which we wish to eliminate as soon as possible, and we are doing our best to achieve this. According to present expectations, if we continue to be condemned to a lack of cooperation from foreign creditors and international financial institutions, we will achieve this in 1991; with cooperation it would be possible earlier.

Certain phenomena connected with investment processes exerted a negative influence on external stability. Investment demand continued to considerably exceed the possibilities; its most dynamic factor being the financial resources at the disposal of enterprises. Also the monetary and market situations were extremely complex.

Before the end of last year, in view of the announced operation on prices and incomes, monetary reserves were released. This caused an increased run on goods, and as a result, a fall in stock and a deterioration of the market. The food market, with twice the previously announced level of supply, and despite the periodical shortage of some goods, was characterized by relative stability. On the other hand, a deteriorating balance affected the nonfood market. Painful shortages have increased, particularly where the electro-engineering and light industries are concerned. Also, the speeding up of services for the population as stipulated by the plan was insufficient. The fall in services relating to the standard of living was particularly marked.

The fiscal and market situation in 1988 was shaped by the essential rise in retail prices in February and in April, and the particularly dynamic growth in monetary incomes of the population which considerably exceeded the rate provided for by the plan. The maintenance of present trends allows us to predict that the global supply of monetary incomes of the population will be higher than last year by over 62 percent. At the same time it is estimated that the retail price index provided for this year will be exceeded.

Taking into consideration the results of price increases for alcoholic beverages and cigarettes, in general the retail price increase amounted to about 57 percent. The relation between the rate of increase of monetary incomes and retail prices is unfavorable; it forces us to fundamentally analyze and appraise the income and prices operation.

At present the government is preparing proposals to set up, in accordance with the resolution of the 7th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, a social and state commission for prices and incomes policy. It should become a road platform for reconciling the provisions of the policy and its implementation, taking into consideration economic and social factors.

May it please the house! It was the government's intention in 1987 to balance the state budget's incomes and expenditure, and such a budget was submitted and approved by the Sejm in December 1986. During its implementation, divergencies appeared between the forecast situation and the actual situation. Being guided by the requirement to maintain stability, the government has made a number of decisions on increasing income and reducing expenditure.

One of the fundamental differences between the decisions of the law and its envisioned implementation was the yield from income tax, which was 200 billion zlotys less than expected. This difference ensured from the widening of the scale and from the range of systemic concessions associated especially with the strong promotion of the growth of exports to both payments zones. This system of promoting exports, which, as I said, brought positive results in the area of foreign trade, however rebounded disadvantageously on the state budget. The government exploited a series of possibilities for shielding the budget, both through savings on expenditures and also on the increase of incomes. However, this did not suffice. At the end of the year the government turned to the Sejm with a resolution for a correction to the budget law, which was implemented. This year according to the figures on the implementation of the state budget in the first 5 months, it transpires that this period has closed with a deficit of the order of 19 billion zlotys, that is, 250 billion zlotys below the figure set in the budget decree for the entire year. Unfortunately, however, no optimistic prognoses can be predicated on this because the envisoned development of the economic situation indicates the possibility of disadvantageous deviations from the plan, both on the incomes side and on the expenditure side. An exceeding of the planned level of expenditures should be expected [words indistinct]. Firstly, because of the growth of subsidies for retail prices of food, as a result of the successive increase from 1 April this year of the procurement prices of agricultural products. The rise in procurement prices in this way seriously preceded the growth in retail prices of food. Secondly, because of the increase of the subsidy to the social insurance fund for farmers, in association with the nonincrease of contributions paid this year by farmers. Thirdly, because of the increase of the subsidies for the units of the nonmaterial sphere, especially education

and health, with the aim of creating the conditions for increased wages in appropriate proportion to the higher than planned growth in renumeration in the material production sphere.

The results of these payments, even despite the over-plan growth of certain incomes in the state budget, would have led to a clear increase of the budget deficit, with negative consequences for the balance [word indistinct]. To avoid this, the Council of Ministers is preparing appropriate draft action plans that will, in part, demand the agreement of Sejm commissions.

I would like to mention that, among other things, consideration is being given to the proposal of introducing a stabilizing tax on economic enterprises, which will be linked with either the size of the labor force or the degree to which production assets are not used. The aim is to finance an increase in budget expenditure without worsening the budget deficit for this year.

May it please the house! The issue which is at the center of attention of the whole of society, and which brings down the overall economy to the level of individual experience, is the standard of living. In a general assessment it is expressed by the size and structure of consumption. As is known, this size must be in strict relation to the size of the national income produced. The breaking of this link, as we have already experienced in the past, theatens a disruption of the development potential of the economy and long-lasting stagnation of the standard of living. Last year, consumption grew faster than the general pace of economic development. In the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan, distributed national income grew by 6.7 percent and consumption by 7.5 percent, that is, by 1.6-2.8 points higher than would be appropriate for the pace assumed in the national socio-economic plan for this 5-year period.

The point of reference as regards the situation today is frequently cited as 1978, which was the best year before the crisis collapse of the seventies. If the national income produced in 1978 is taken as 100, then in 1987 the level of national income amounts to 94.4 and therefore still low, and the level of consumption amounts to 104.8 and therefore significantly higher. This is a striking example which clearly shows that in the years which are very difficult for the economy when it failed to reconstruct the level of incomes to the precrisis level, there is a clear preference being maintained for consumption. The supplies of food in the last 2 years grew by 12.8 percent, which means that their average annual growth is 3.8 points ahead of the assumptions in the national social and economic plan [NSEP]. The situation in the nonfood sector was even worse. Both in 1986 and 1987 we failed to achieve the planned acceleration of the rate of growth in supply of these goods in relation to the supply of food.

Also, the acceleration of the supplies of a number of goods for household use, as assumed in the NSEP, was not realized. The level of supply refrigerators, washing machines, radio and television receivers was lower in 1987 than in the previous year. In spite of this, one should not disregard the progress made in this difficult sector. Let us point out the level of equipment of households with some consumer durables. I do not wish to bore the esteemed chamber with figures, but I would like to recall that compared with the precrisis year, as regards all the items, the quantity of household equipment calculated per 100 units grew significantly. For instance, as regards refrigerators and freezers from 91 before the crisis to 112 at present. The greatest growth has, of course, occured with regard to cars, where it increased from 17 to 30 per 100 households. And so on. This applies to all the items. One can also say that the purchasing power of an average monthly wage in the socialized economy, without considering the changes in prices of tobacco products and alcohol, increased in the last 2 years by 5 percent and the average pension and annuity by no less than 15 percent.

These figures do not correspond with the popular social views, according to which the situation is constantly worsening and the gap results from the fact that life is still hard and that the means of obtaining the goods about which I am speaking is not normal and social expectations are much higher. One must, however, see everything in our evaluation: There are both good and bad aspects of the existing situation.

We must regard as unfavorable the situation in the housing construction sector. The results achieved in the 1986-87 period are still too low to cope with the tasks of the 5-year plan. in the last 2 years certain trends have occured which will influence an improvement of this situation. As for the structure of housing built currently, there is a growing number of large apartments—4 or 5 rooms—and the average size of commissioned apartments continues to increase. For instance, compared with the precrisis period of 1978, the average size of apartments grew from over 50 square meters to over 57 square meters. As a result, the average living space per head increased by nearly 17 [as heard] square meters.

I will also mention that in the first 2 years of the 5-year plan we noted a certain development of the material base of health protection. In this period almost 5,500 hospital beds were handed over for use, [words indistinct] clinics and health centers and [word indistinct] creches, and employment in the health service also rose by 4,100 doctors and 12,500 nurses. The deepest threat to reform fo the economy is the often subjective attitudes of people, especially those who support the reform only verbally. On the other hand, customs, habituation, slowness, and just plain ignorance represent the old forms that are already passing away.

Being aware of the strength of these threats for the further fate of the reform and also being aware of the need to search for ways of accelerating our process of transformations, against all the difficulties that they encounter, the government promptly undertook to

implement the extraordinary powers received from the esteemed House in May. As we recall, they are in force until the end of this year. The purpose is to prepare the road for the effective influence of economic mechanisms, the acceleration of the processes of change, which, with the application of normal procedures, would run their course only slowly. On the basis of the legislative authorizations of the Sejm, the Council of Ministers undertook a series of solutions of a special character. At the same time, work on further moves is in progress. Many solutions are already under way, especially the accelerated liquidation of inefficient economic units, for the acceleration in this way of the process of structural changes in the economy, the strengthening of incentives influencing the improvement of efficiency of management especially at the points of usage of materials and energy and also the more rational usage of these factors. Furthermore, they act as a counter to the breaking of the appropriate prices and incomes relations. Finally, they relate to actions favoring the growth of supply, especially of market goods and services. The government tries to exploit the special liquidation procedure for the acceleration of structural changes in the economy. [words indistinct]

In recent weeks decisions have been made to liquidate 21 enterprises, among which there are industrial and trading enterprises. At the same time, six enterprises have been divided up, mainly in the construction sector. The special powers made it possible to accelerate the process of decentralization of the economic administration by moving the responsibility for enterprises to the supervision of the founding people's councils. Already in February, 307 enterprises have been transferred in a routine manner to the supervision of voivodas. At present, the chairman of the Council of Ministers has transferred another 330 enterprises. Further suggestions in this matter will be examined in September this year, and we expect the results for 1988 to be in the region of 800-850 enterprises where the functions of the founding organs which, so far, have been the responsibility of ministers will be transferred to the voivodas.

[Words indistinct] for the sake of growth of supply is the lowering or waiving of import duties on a number of goods in the noncommercial sector, and also waiving of the need to document the source of origin of foreign currency to be able to deposit it in bank accounts. The decision of the minister for economic cooperation with abroad to waive or suspend customs duty on about (?130) groups of goods from the total of 149 should influence the inflow into Poland of a larger number of goods, some of which will be sold thus enriching the market assortment.

Taking into consideration the effects of all the regulations presented here, we plan at present that the supplies of goods and services to the market should grow faster than assumed in the Central Annual Plan and we estimated this to be in the region of 3-3.5 percent growth compared with the 2 and 7 [as heard] in the central plan assumptions.

May it please the House! The government is now ending its work on the 1989 central plan assumptions. In drawing up the plan we take equally into consideration the implementation so far of the 5-year plan and the long-term requirements of the Polish economy which are contained in the long-term plan.

Not prejudging the final solutions for the 1989 plan, the provisions of which will undergo social consultation, the government will strive to implement the plan in such way as to ensure progress in stabilizing the economy, and to this end will follow the road mapped out by the program of the second stage of economic reform.

We hope that our efforts aimed at stabilizing the economy and restructuring its framework will meet with the full understanding of the house and the entire community, and that it will contribute toward improving the situation over the period of 3 difficult years, in which the greater part of the economy will be able to plan in accordance with the new logic mapped out by the resolutions of the 9th and 10th congresses and the 7 June plenum of the PZPR Central Committee.

It is clear that the success of our intentions is first of all a matter for ourselves. The difficult years which we are now experiencing should not even for a moment weaken our belief in the sense of approved programs, if only we have enough conviction that the overcoming of all difficulties is in our power.

Passes 'Vote of Acceptance'

LD1207214688 Warsaw PAP in English
2027 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 12—Today's Sejm debate focused on matters of economy. The Sejm expressed a deep concern over set-backs experienced in the past few years in redressing the economy. The Sejm noted that the realization of government-approved assumptions of the price-income operation failed to prove fully correct in practice. The parliament found it necessary to accelerate the adoption by the government of extraordinary solutions and decisions. It also recommended intensification of actions aimed to improve the market supplies and obliged the government to take steps aiming to improve this year's state budget balance.

These conclusions were formulated as a resolution (it is given separately) this evening. The Sejm heard opinions of Vice-Premier Zdislaw Sadowski (his speech was given separately), Sejm committees' speakers and chairman of the Nik Supreme Chamber of Control. After a long discussion (20 speakers) a ballot was held. The government was given the vote of acceptance for the past year.

The main report, of the Economic Plan, Budget and Finance Committee, was presented by Deputy Boleslaw Struzek who emphasized the ever sharper conflict between the obsolete structure of economy, in particular

of industry, and requirements of more effective management and better satisfaction for social needs. The question of insufficient progress in the restructuring of economy was raised as one of the most important issues during discussions of parliamentary committees. Struzek also drew attention to some positive phenomena, such as fairly favourable results in foreign trade, improvement in proportion of old age and disability pension to pay, scope of actions cushioning the lowest-income groups of population, some signals of improvement in housing construction and environmental protection.

Nik Chairman Tadeusz Hupalowski told the Sejm:

It should be expected of the government bodies that in our most complicated economic situation they will be adopting such solutions and decisions which would ensure measurable progress in extinguishing inflation, in increasing production, improving quality while sticking to stringent economic regime.

Deputy Jan Mieloch, representing extraordinary committee supervising the implementation of economic reform, said that the general economic situation is negatively affected by the growing foreign debt. Economic results throw a shadow on the effects of system and organizational changes, and the deterioration of equilibrium is a sign pointing to diminishing effectiveness of the applied economic instruments. The speaker pointed out to the favourable phenomenon of enlivening activity of banks which more actively operate their credits.

Presenting the Sejm committee's stand on the government evaluation of the current financial and market situation, Deputy Danuta Juzala demanded that investments, the central ones at first, be temporarily limited. She was of the opinion that it is hard to start solving problems related to equilibrium without cancelling the rigorous division into official and contractual prices.

She suggested that interests on savings should be made real which should be accompanied by the revalorization of savings to the level of inflation rate, and presented an interesting calculation. Savings on dollar accounts estimated in the black market rate constituted 15 percent of the total of savings in 1982. At present, evaluated in this way, deposits on convertible currency accounts reach as much as 60 percent of total savings. Is it 'dollarization' of the economy. A serious increase in the population's purchasing power, which threatens balance, is accompanied by the transformation of savings into 'hot money.'

The PUWP caucus at the Sejm voiced hope that the government, having special powers at its disposal, can overcome disadvantageous trends and introduce management logic about which Wojciech Jaruzelski spoken had at the Sejm on Monday.

Peasant activists expect government special powers to be used so as to eliminate serious threats which appeared in the first half of this year.

On behalf of the Democratic Party floor group it was stated that, assessing all difficulties and appreciating efforts made by the government, its members would come out for the vote of acceptance, convinced that the government would draw far-reaching conclusions on the basis of last year's economic shortcomings

For years, trade unionists have been pointing to the inconsistency of the fiscal policy and the system of remuneration the socialized economy [as received] recalled Sejm Deputy Irena Szczygielska, adding that we observe the competition of concepts to manipulate prices to limit the demand and to thus obtain market equilibrium instead of achieving it by increasing supplies. Sejm Deputy Henryk Swinarski deemed it necessary to speed up the work on a new taxation system, saying that many enterprises arrest production or do not start the new one in view of the prospects for increasing tax.

Sejm Deputy Zbigniew Zielinski said: "We experience a hope of arranging our Polish home better and are inclined to hope for new political atmosphere thanks to which we discuss loudly everything that should be changed."

Sejm Deputy Wiktor Leyk said: "Over the past few years, one has seen a greater will of agreement and cooperation of various social forces and groups. The role and activeness of Christians in public lfie is growing. Today, it is not only tolerance that is necessary but also good coexistence of people with different political views, believers and non-believers, Catholics, Protestants, Orthodoxes and faithful of other religions."

"The economic reform must be a dynamic process open to changes and improvements," Sejm Deputy Edward Kowalczyk of the Democratic Party said. "Revolutionary changes in the Soviet Union and political meaning of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Poland are an ally of the reform. One can hardly find such a beneficial alignment of political relations promoting our changes in the history of the last period," he stressed.

The deputy proposed to set up a standing political council composed of representatives of the three allied parties and other groupings. The council, operating openly, could play an important role in the hitherto coalition system.

The speaker submitted also the possibility of speeding up a decision to set up an institution of the president of the republic to the Sejm for consideration. When the function is properly shaped, it would be important for integrating society.

The vote of acceptance for the government's activity last year was passed by the Sejm with 18 votes against and 40 abstentions.

A resolution on the current financial and market situation was passed with two votes against and 12 abstentions.

Tomorrow will be the last day of Sejm debates.

Resolution Criticizes Government

LD1207215188 Warsaw PAP in English
2100 GMT 12 Jul 88

["Sejm Resolution on Current Financial Situation (abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, July 12—The Sejm (parliament), having analyze the government assessment of the current financial and market situation, expresses serious apprehension over the lack of success in balancing the economy which has prevailed for several years now.

The implementation of the provisions of the price-income operation adopted by the government has not fully passed the test in practice. An above-plan intensification of inflationary phenomena has occurred in the first five months of 1988, along with a simultaneous deepening of imbalance on the consumer, investment and supply market. This is taking place despite an above-plan increase of industrial output and construction as well as foreign trade turnover. This indicates an insufficient effectiveness of the mechanisms regulating the economy. Demands have intensified while at the same time trends to liberalize economic mechanisms have surfaced.

The Sejm deems the following as especially disadvantageous:

- The prevalence in the first five months of this year of a clear dominance of the growth of above-plan growth in prices,

- The fast growth of the buying power of the population with an earlier clear fall in stocks in trade,

- The growing fall in confidence in Polish money and the increase in interest in placing savings and settling accounts in hard currencies,

- The growth of the negative consequences of a too slow fall in the share of official prices in the structure of prices,

- The deepening of irrational disproportions between the incomes, the population in the budgetary sphere (education, health care, culture) and the incomes of the population in the material sphere.

The further maintenance of these phenomena, which deepen market and financial imbalance, could undermine the effectiveness of efforts in all fields of economic reform.

In light of the range and depth of imbalance, the level of inflation and the very low levels of stocks in trade, the Sejm deems it necessary to accelerate the execution of the special solutions and decisions by the government. The Sejm recommends that the government boost activities to improve the market situation.

Taking into account the special powers which the government has been equipped with and discerning the highly disadvantageous impact of the budget deficit on balancing the economy, the Sejm obliges the government to start action aimed at improving the budget balance of the state in 1988.

Barcikowski Holds News Conference

LD1207151188 Warsaw PAP in English
1344 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 12: State-Church relations, "blank spots" in Polish-Soviet relations, future shape of the Polish Sejm (parliament), will new political parties and presidency be formed in Poland—these issues were among the leading topics discussed during today's press conference given by PUWP CC Political Bureau member, vice-president of the Council of State Kazimierz Barcikowski.

State-Church Relations [subhead]

A working document has been drafted concerning the regulation of relations between the Vatican and Poland. The document will be the subject of further talks between appropriate representatives of the Holy See and of the Polish Foreign Ministry, said Kazimierz Barcikowski.

Barcikowski added that work on a law regulating the internal relations between the state and the Roman Catholic Church and with over 20 other religious denominations which exist in Poland, are far more advanced.

"Blank Spots" in Polish-Soviet Relations [Subhead]

Asked to make a stand on the question of explaining the complicated issues from the history of Polish-Soviet relations, Barcikowski referred to the work of a joint commission of historians which studies respective questions, supplementing with knowledge that which has not been explained. He also recalled that Mikhail Gorbachev in his Sejm address touched on, among other things, the problem of deportation of Poles in the years 1939-1941. The Katyn crime, which arouses controversy, will be explained in due time, added Barcikowski.

Future Shape of the Sejm [subhead]

In response to the question about the future electoral law to the Sejm, its shape and varied electoral programmes of individual candidates for deputies, Barcikowski said that (the process) would allow for the experiences gained

during the elections to people's councils. He stressed that the differences among programs were visible already during those elections. At present, various circles are being sounded about their possible activity in this field. Among the candidates to the Sejm we will welcome all those who would like to act in public even if they represent different views than those of the authorities provided that they do not run counter to the constitution.

Asked about the possibility to create the second chamber in the Sejm, Barcikowski said that it can develop from the present socio-economic council which groups representatives of different social and professional circles. It would probably deal with self-governments, he added.

New Parties and the Office of President [subhead]

There are possibilities for establishing new political parties in Poland—mainly Christian-Democratic ones—since there have already been different Catholic groups which can be combined into a party, Barcikowski said.

The setting up of a new Marxist party, which for example would question the principle of centralism, could be done only through a split within the PUWP and such a possibility is firmly rejected by the party, Barcikowski said. There is pluralism of views in the party now within the unity of opinions on basic questions, he added.

In response to the question about the office of president in Poland in the context of the consolidation of the position of the president of the Supreme Soviet in the USSR and the President of the Council of State in Poland, Barcikowski said that everything is open and possible. If the socio-political situation develops in this direction, appropriate proposals will be considered but final decisions should be, according to Barcikowski, submitted to a national referendum.

Transcript of Urban's 5 July News Conference

AU0807161188 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6 Jul pp 1, 7

[Transcript of Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban's press conference for domestic and foreign journalists at the Warsaw Interpress Center on 5 July]

[Text] J. Urban: First of all I wish to tell you about the main features of the coming visit to Poland by M. Gorbachev and his wife. This is unofficial information, because the program may change. M. Gorbachev will land in Warsaw in the morning of 11 July and will place wreaths at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, at the Nike monument, and at the Soviet soldiers' mausoleum. Next he will have talks with W. Jaruzelski and after lunch will attend the solemn session of the Sejm, during which he and W. Jaruzelski are expected to speak. An official reception and toasts will take place in the evening.

On 12 July M. Gorbachev and his delegation will fly to Krakow, will travel to Bialy Dunajec and Poronin, after which they will return to Krakow. A declaration on youth cooperation will be signed in the evening. There will also be a meeting with the youth and a rally of the Polish and Soviet youth in the Wawel Castle, during which both leaders will make speeches.

On 13 July the Soviet guests will fly to Szczecin to attend a friendship rally at the Warski shipyards and to meet the workers class, will tour the castle of the Pomeranian Dukes, will place wreaths at the Monument of Brotherhood in Arms at the cemetery of Polish and Soviet soldiers, will visit a gardening combine, after which they will return to Warsaw.

On 14 July M. Gorbachev, accompanied by some prominent representatives of Soviet science and arts, will go to the Warsaw Royal Castle to meet representatives of Polish science and culture and to make a speech. This will be followed by plenary talks between the two delegations.

The Soviet guests will leave Warsaw for Moscow by air after lunch on 16 July.

G. Gerasimov will act as the spokesman for the Soviet delegation, and I will act so for the Polish delegation. Meetings with the press and formal press conferences will be held generally twice a day. The Press Center will issue detailed information. Let me tell you that the center has received 378 applications for attendance from foreign journalists and about 200 applications from Polish journalists. Those 370 [figure as published] applications include 175 applications from eight socialist countries and 213 from other countries. We still do not know the exact numerical strength of the Soviet media team. We have been told that 125 Soviet journalists will attend, but this figure continues to be changed. The United States will send 71, Japan 31, the FRG 29, Great Britain 28, and France 17 journalists.

The Press Center will open on 7 July, and meetings will be held in it with Polish functionaries and Soviet experts, some of whom will arrive in Poland beforehand.

Andrey Pershin, TASS: Do you think that the 19th CPSU Conference will influence the course and results of the visit paid to Poland by General Secretary M. Gorbachev?

Urban: It certainly will. The CPSU conference was followed with great interest in Poland and has strengthened the changes symbolized by M. Gorbachev. The conference was an expression of openness, candor, and democracy and has outlined specific measures to change Soviet internal relations and structures.

Poland will host the CPSU general secretary whose policy has scored success at a high party forum and who, as we can see, enjoys the Soviet people's general support.

That is why the General Secretary M. Gorbachev who will land in Warsaw will be stronger than the general secretary we have originally invited and will enjoy even greater affection from our people.

We regard the success of the Gorbachev line as our own success. It has strengthened the socialist renewal and reforms in Poland and those forces that support these reforms. The CPSU conference has demonstrated that many Polish concepts and ways of doing things, which were regarded with suspicion by previous Soviet politicians, are compatible with the general laws of the development of the socialist political system in the present era.

We know that our Soviet guest will show understanding for our difficulties and, especially, for our search for new roads.

We feel freer about ways of renewing socialism in Poland.

We also feel increased responsibility. We are in the same boat, and that is why the reforms in which the Poles succeed will strengthen the general process of restructuring and democratization. Conversely, every discomfiture of ours will weaken the general stream of changes.

In his yesterday's statement for PAP, J. Czyrek said that M. Gorbachev's visit will open a new stage in Polish-Soviet relations. I dare say that it will be possible to evaluate that stage against a more extensive background of Polish-Russian relations over many centuries.

In a few days something very important will happen in Poland's history.

Gemma Aizpitare Heriz, EFE: Will there be a special program for Mrs Gorbachev?

Urban: Yes, there will be a special and partly separate program.

Gemma Aizpitare Heriz: Any details?

Urban: Mrs Gorbachev will visit an institute of industrial design, will study women's work, will tour the Ursynow housing settlement, will visit Katowice, will tour Auschwitz at her own wish, and will visit Zelazowa Wola and Nieborow.

Yousef Mah'd, PALESTINIAN PRESS AGENCY: What is the Polish Government's stand on the shooting down of the Iranian airliner by the U.S. Navy?

Urban: This stand was expressed yesterday by Ambassador Staniszewski, the press spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Yousef Mah'd: George Shultz declared yesterday that the captain of the U.S. ship made a correct decision. How do you view this declaration and the stand of the United States in comparison with the shooting down of the Korean airliner?

Urban: If we wanted to score propaganda points in connection with the tragic and dramatic case of the Iranian airliner, we could recall many U.S. statements made when the Korean airliner was shot down. We could recall various general U.S. statements that would make some representatives of the United States blush.

Jozsef Laszlo, Hungarian Radio and Television: The Hungarian Parliament has protested the so-called program to reorganize territorial order in Romania, in which case the Hungarian community in Romania would simply be destroyed, because some 8,000 villages, including cemeteries and churches, are scheduled to be demolished. Any comment?

Urban: We are in favor of solving international disputes in a friendly and constructive spirit and in a way that respects the interests of the states and nations concerned in accordance with the Human Rights Declaration and the CSCE Final Act. We trust that the further development of Hungarian-Romanian relations will follow this line.

Pavel Kopecky, Czechoslovak Radio: Could tell us what the Polish Government expects of the CEMA session, which is starting today in Prague?

Urban: We think that the Prague talks will be difficult and we expect that the transformation of the mechanism of CEMA cooperation and activities will be discussed, that the program for the international division of labor of the CEMA countries right up to the year 2005 will be adopted, and that special attention will be paid in Prague to what is our intention—to the development of electronics in CEMA countries and to the integration of non-European members state with CEMA.

Waldemar Janiec, PAP: What is your evaluation of Vice Premier Sadowski's visit to London and Washington and Vice Premier Szalajda's visit to Bonn?

Urban: Those visits and M. Rakowski's visit to Paris were crucial factors in Poland's present relations with the West.

Vice Premier Sadowski's visit to the United States was very positive, if we consider its purpose. Professor Sadowski did not travel to ask for loans, for funds, as some sections of the Western press have suggested. The purpose of his visit was to improve Poland's relations with Great Britain and the United States and to disperse the false interpretations of what we are doing and will do in our political and economic reforms. Z. Sadowski has said that all his highly placed partners were friendly and understanding.

These politicians praised our reforms and their specific achievements, but were rather skeptical about our program for political changes, which Z. Sadowski thinks is a result of their negligible knowledge of our activities and of their simplified view of the setup of forces within Poland. Z. Sadowski's visit made it possible to make some progress in combatting erroneous commonplaces and to improve the West's understanding of the importance of the achieved and the projected changes in Poland.

Talks in the IMF and in the World Bank revealed that considerable progress had been made in drawing up a program suitable for Poland. It was agreed to intensify work to produce a program that is fully applicable to Poland and is not just a preliminary program.

We think that a higher level of mutual understanding has been achieved, that is, that the understanding achieved by experts has been taken over by the leaderships of those two institutions.

Professor Sadowski has said that he went out to drill a hole into a thick rock and that he was able to drill a hole of about 2 inches, but that this was enough for the Polish problems to get a footing in it.

Talks with Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who confirmed that he would pay an official visit to Poland, was the most important point of Vice Premier Szalajda's visit to the FRG. The two sides take the view that Chancellor Kohl's visit should be well prepared and should have substance and that various political, economic, and cultural issues of cooperation should be lumped together in a single package, that is, should be solved in mutual connection. Of course, both sides should be able to accept such a package, which will continue to be put together. Z. Szalajda met with a constructive approach to the idea of making a decisive progress in Polish-FRG relations.

As you can see, the results of his visit induce optimism. Following his talks with the chancellor, the spokesman for the FRG Government said that Polish-FRG relations should not lag behind the general development of the East-West dialogue. We fully share this view.

Stefan Kownacki, RADIO POLONIA: Mr Minister, could you say something about the outcome of the visit by the group of World Bank directors?

Urban: The press reported on the stay in our country by the group of World Bank directors.

I can add that the directors representing Latin American countries, Scandinavian countries, Japan, the PRC, and Canada came to familiarize themselves with Poland as a member country, with our country's economy, and with projects that could receive credit assistance from the World Bank. The visitors stressed that the visit made a good impression on them. They also said that they believed that it was right for the World Bank to be involved in Poland.

We, for our part, are completely ready to implement two investment programs: 1) in the field of export-oriented undertakings in industry (the program consists of 9 concrete investment undertakings in, among other places, Plock, Pulawy, Swiecie, Karlino, and Grajewo); 2) a program for the modernization of certain agricultural and food processing industry enterprises with a view to increasing exports (it consists of 16 concrete undertakings).

These program have already been assessed by World Bank experts. If we receive the credits, we can start implementing these programs immediately. Polish banks intend to provide "bridging" finance, that is, they would begin to finance these programs themselves, and the sums involved would be returned to them once credits had been obtained from the World Bank. This kind of procedure is employed in World Bank activity.

John Daniszewski, AP: I would like to ask about the registration of the Workers Solidarity Social Foundation. The matter was first raised in January of this year, but so far there has been no response to the request?

Urban: I already spoke about the subject of the foundation called the "Workers Solidarity Social Foundation" at my January 27 news conference. I also put forward concrete proposals aimed at making the most effective use possible of the $1,000,000, so that it serves those who need help in the best possible way.

On several occasions now, the ministers of health and social welfare have spoken to representatives of the sponsor and have submitted proposals, such as allocating some of the funds for the development of the pharmaceuticals industry and purchasing drugs and components of drugs, which is something very important in view of the widely known difficulties that there are in satisfying the need for drugs. However, these proposals, along with certain other ones such as the establishment of a joint foundation, were rejected.

Legal observations have been made about the foundation's draft statute with a view to bringing its provisions into line with the law on establishing foundations and the 1984 law on foundations.

Certain issues connected with the draft statute have been explained and appropriate amendments to the provisions of the draft statute have been made. There are grounds for hoping that progress will made with regard to other issues in the near future.

Zbigniew Satala, GAZETA KRAKOWSKA: Mr Minister, I have two questions. First, last week the Council of Ministers familiarized itself with a draft program for

restricting the emission of sulphur dioxide. The communique devoted just three short lines to this issue, which is of very great interest to society. Could you provide some more detailed information? I would like to know about dates and what sort of reductions there would be.

Urban: Poland did not sign an international protocol on reducing the emission of sulphur dioxide by 30 percent and did not join the "30 Percent Club," because, as I already explained, we cannot afford to do so, but Poland did sign and ratify the convention, that is to say, it has committed itself to reducing the emission of sulphur into the atmosphere without assuming any concrete undertakings concerning the size of the reduction and a deadline for imposing it. Our plans are divided into two stages.

The first stage, to be completed by the year 2000, envisages a reduction in the emission of sulphur to a level of 9 million tons, that is a reduction of 30 percent. We will achieve this in the year 2000, that is, 7 years later than the 21 European countries that signed the 1985 Helsinki protocol. During the second stage, which will end in 2010, we will reduce the level to 2 million tons, which represents a further 30-percent reduction. The cost of these undertakings for the period up to 1995 will amount to Z360 billion at 1986 prices, to Z460 billion at 1986 prices for the period up to the year 2000, and to Z490 billion at 1986 prices for the period between the years 2000 and 2010. Total projected outlays will amount to Z1.5 billion [figure as published] at 1986 prices. Thus, the costs are simply gigantic, and that is why we cannot effect a larger and more rapid reduction in the emission of sulphur.

The government plans to use various legal and economic levers to make industry act in accordance with the program. Some of these levers will come into force even this year and others will be introduced in stages until 1990. First, the fund for the development and application of technology or the ecological fund will cover 100 percent of the costs incurred by investment aimed at reducing sulphur emissions in enterprises that will introduce new technology for the desulphurization of coal and fumes, and at least 75 percent of costs of investments that are not of a specifically innovative kind. This year will see the charges for the emission of sulphur rise from Z2.4 million to Z12 million per ton. Thus, this represents an enormous increase in financial penalties. These charges will be reviewed to prevent them from dropping.

During the period 1996 to 2000 further levers will be introduced. These levers are designed to force enterprise to adopt desulphirization processes with regard to coal and fumes, and encourage investment. As a result, investment should reach an annual level of Z70 billion. The important elements are higher charges and penalties, and subsidies. Harsher administrative levers will also be introduced to concentrate investment in areas where this form of pollution is worst. If you are interested in more details, your are welcome to look at the document concerning these matters at the end of the press conference.

Zbigniew Satala: My second question. Last week you explained that official prices would not rise this year. However, yesterday liquor prices were increased.

Urban: I was talking about basic foodstuffs.

Krzysztof Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES: I would like to ask whether the decision concerning a reduction in the emission of sulphur also considers the future of the sulphur mine in Osiek?

Urban: I am afraid I would have to start looking for that information now, but you are welcome to look over the whole document.

Henryk Sroczynski, GLOS ROBOTNICZY: Mr Minister, what percentage of the population lives below the social minimum, and what is the government doing to improve material conditions for this group?

Urban: It is difficult for me to answer this question. First, the social minimum itself is calculated in various ways. For example, last year the Institute for Labor and Social Affairs considered the social minimum for a member of family of four to be Z11,765, but the OPZZ gave a figure of Z13,114, which is something that I would like to stress. At the same time, we know that the very concept of a social minimum is problematic, because income levels do not fully reflect standards of living. There are other considerations, such as the type of apartment a person has, what savings, if any, someone has. Indeed, the model according to which a social minimum is calculated is in a certain sense an arbitrary one that is determined by researchers who, for example, consider that purchases of books have to be taken into account but that vodka purchases do not, although such a model does not necessarily reflect actual consumption patterns.

Thus, considering all these reservations to the effect that such figures are very much estimates, we consider that, solely on the basis of current income levels, about 20 percent of society lives below the social minimum.

I might add that the reports that sometimes appear in the press stating that 50 percent, or more than 50 percent, of society live below the social minimum are completely absurd. Besides, every journalist can determine what the social minimum is as he sees fit, according to what he believes a person needs in order to live.

Is the government doing anything to reduce poverty? Above all, this year the system of family benefits is providing very significant help to families with many children, and precisely such families make up the majority of the 20 percent minority that lives below social

minimum. At present, the lowest incomes families receive Z7,500 for every child, and this comes in for criticism from two sides. On the one hand, families with many children say that this is too little in relation to the cost of maintaining a child, whereas in many workplaces there is criticism that it is often not those who work best who receive the highest wages, but those who have the largest number of children, because, for example, someone who has five children receives benefits amounting to about Z40,000 monthly, which changes the pay structure.

Then, reviews of pensions and the benefits paid to families and people who are economically weaker, reviews that are linked to price increases, are one of the instruments of social policy designed to alleviate the situation. People who receive less than the social minimum can receive financial and material assistance from regional organs of the state administration. This can take the form of benefits paid on a long- or short-term basis.

It is also possible to receive assistance from a special housing fund to pay for an apartment. Finally, people who belong to this 20 percent have preferential status with respect to benefits paid out of plant social funds, children from these families can attend summer camps for nothing, and can receive meals in cafeterias at reduced rates or for nothing. This is not to mention the assistance provided by various social institutions that seek to provide assistance, including charitable institutions run by the church.

Andrew Tarnowski, REUTER: Mr Minister, does that group of intellectuals that has been invited to the Royal Castle include any members of the opposition? Is any kind of dialogue taking place between the government and the opposition in the wake of the elections to people's councils?

Urban: The word opposition has several meanings. The opposition means one thing to us and something different to the Western press. By opposition, we mean people who hold different views, but nevertheless want things to be better in Poland and not worse. Such people have been invited to attend the meeting at the castle. As for the second part of your question, the Western press reported certain talks with the opposition, but I do not want speak about the talks, because those who took part in them agreed not to reveal what was discussed during them.

Kay Withers, BALTIMORE SUN: Referring to Mr Tarnowski's question, could you dot the "i" and name some of the intellectuals who have been invited to the Royal Castle meeting? My second question concerns the election results. Could you tell us how many of the 700 candidates who describe themselves as the opposition were elected, and how many of the 40,000 competing PZPR members were elected?

Urban: I cannot give any names. They will not be publicized until after the meeting. Nor can I say how many of the 700 candidates whom I called nonaligned have been elected. I only gave an estimate. Nobody is stamped with the word "nonaligned," and nobody runs any statistics in this regard. Nor can I say how many PZPR members won or lost. Perhaps a political analysis will be possible one day, but right now there is no way of carrying it out.

Barbara Drozdz, ZYCIE WARSZAWY: There are reports that the election results in Kolbuda, Gdansk voivodship, were manipulated. Have you any information?

Urban: This and other cases of violating the election rules are known to the State Election Commission. Right now it is difficult to say for sure whether it happened or not. The State Election Commission conveyed a protest from the relevant District Election Commission to the Supreme Court. One may add that here we have a paradoxical situation where an election commission is protesting against itself, whence it emerges that the irregularity is the result of this commission's own neglect.

L'EXPRESS [No name of reporter given]: I would like to return to the general secretary's visit to Poland. Do you think the Katyn issue will be dealt with in any way during the visit?

Urban: This issue is being discussed at meetings of historians, who are best qualified to speak about historical occurrences.

Debbie Seward, AP: When discussing Gorbachev's visit, you said nothing about the church. Will there be any meetings between church representatives and Gorbachev, and what form might such meetings take?

Urban: There is no such meeting in the program. However, the detailed schedule does present such a possibility.

Christopher Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES: I would like to know which Soviet intellectuals will come to the castle. If a commission for examining atrocities is examining Hitlerite atrocities, why should a commission of historians examine Katyn?

Urban: I still cannot give any names because I have not been given any myself, but as soon as we know who is accompanying Mikhail Gorbachev, I will tell you.

The historians are using all available means presented by science. They are also involved in analyses on the sphere of knowledge which you mentioned.

John Daniszewski, AP: The plenum spoke about the need to hold a round table for those who intend to form associations and file the appropriate applications. Since

then we have heard nothing. General Jaruzelski also spoke about the need to register the associations before the Sejm passes the new law on associations. Will any steps be taken to organize such a round table, and are there any steps toward registering those associations for which application has already been made? The point is economic associations.

Urban: In both cases, the answer is yes. Prior to the envisaged round table, there are now consultations on the subject of the law on associations. The law is presently being discussed, so the round table talk will use this discussion as a basis. However, as far as associations are concerned, it has merely been suggested that the slow procedure involved in registering them be speeded up.

Marek Kassa, Polish radio: A group of Poles in Austria are on a hunger strike. They cannot accept the fact that the authorities there are refusing them political asylum. What do you think of this?

Urban: Asking for asylum is the individual business of everyone who decides to do so. I can merely assure you that the Polish consular service will render all essential help to those who decide to return to Poland, whether they asked for asylum or not, and that asking for asylum does not pose the threat of legal consequences when one does return to Poland. So the wisest thing a Pole who is unwanted abroad can do is to go back to where he is wanted.

Stefan Dietrich, "FAZ": I am getting back to official prices. You said official prices would not be raised any more this year except for the prices of basic food items. However, the 1 February government report contained no such restriction. Has this report been annulled? How is it?

Urban: No, it is still effective. However, it does say that liquor and tobacco are not in the breadbasket of goods for which the government is accountable to society, and that liquor and tobacco prices are a separate category.

Debbie Seward, AP: Does the statement that the government will not raise official prices, but only those of basic food commodities, mean that the government will eventually be forced to raise the official prices of other goods in order to keep abreast of inflation, especially because, as we have read in the press, there is still pressure to increase wages and wage increases are still faster than price increases?

I have already said that when we have the economic results for the first half of the year, probably in the third week of July, only then will we be able to assess the situation recently discussed by Minister Samojlik when he said that wage rises are faster than price rises. Then, government representatives, workers, and farmers will consider what to do. In any case, we are not going to create a surprise by means of sudden price increases. The February program applies to official prices only, and it remains in effect.

Andrew Tarnowski, REUTER: Last week we discussed the primary duty of military service, and you said that the bodies who will decide on the type of service to which each man is to be referred will also consist of civilians. However, the Defense Council said yesterday that it is district and voivodship draft boards that will decide on the type of service. Will these draft boards also consist of civilians?

Urban: Yes, although I said that there are still plans for this, because this is probably a matter which will be contained in subsidiary regulations, due to appear later. But I may be wrong.

Christopher Bobinski: For many years after the war, it was the prevalent view both in the West and in Poland that the Soviet Union possessed the leading system. The propaganda apparatus in the West and in Poland worked hard in order to convince society that it was so. Fortunately, it seems that people did not worry about this unduly. Now it transpires that pre-war and post-war Soviet history is not as rosy as it was made out to be, because Stalinism was a period of stagnation. Do you think the Polish authorities will explain this to those who thought the system was a leading one, and perhaps there are those who still think it is? Do you think there will be any explanation for these people about what happened? Today you have merely spoken about the freedom that exists now, and I do not think that is enough. Will the Polish authorities put forth some explanation? Can one expect Gorbachev to say anything on this subject next week?

Urban: Sir, we still think, and this is the ideological mainstay of our existence and our politics, that the socialist system is a system with great advantages and a great future. That does not mean it has never had dramatic and tragic circumstances in the past. Every system has. Indeed, we did say that one particular country is a leading one, one particular party is a leading one, and that other countries and parties are following this example. Today we give emphasis to the equality and parallel nature of trends in socialism. I do not think you are so anti-Marxist as to fail to perceive the truth of this, and of the fact that history in general is but a medium in which changes occur. The change you ask about has been explained, is being explained, and will surely continue to be explained for a long time to come, because we are excessively tuned to the past; much more than to the future, unfortunately.

Because "Voice of America" suggested that I once paid a visit to Radio Free Europe in Munich for dishonorable purposes and I denied this publicly, I wish to tell you that "Voice of America" corrected this disinformation on 30 June.

RCP Central Committee Plenum Issue Resolution

AU0707145588 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Jun 88 pp 1, 5

["Resolution of the RCP Central Committee Plenum of 28 June 1988"]

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, chaired the RCP Central Committee plenum on 28 June.

Then plenum greatly valued the speech made at the end of the proceedings by the party secretary general. This speech is a document of particular importance for the whole party and state activity aimed at commendably fulfilling the plans and programs for our country's socioeconomic development and constantly raising the standard of living and civilization of our entire nation.

Fully endorsing the theses, guidelines, and tasks formulated by the party secretary general, the plenum expressed the determination of the Communists and all working people to do all they can to commendably fulfill the plan provisions for this year and the overall 5-year plan, and to apply the measures regarding the intensive development—at a higher technical and scientific level—of all socioeconomic activities, and regarding the strategic targets of our homeland's move to a new development stage.

Reaffirming sentiments of great esteem, appreciation, and gratitude toward the party secretary general, the plenum emphasized the decisive role played by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in establishing and corroborating the strategy for our homeland's development in general, in vigorously asserting our workers revolutionary democracy, and constantly increasing the material and cultural well-being of our whole people, and his role in enhancing Socialist Romania's prestige in the international arena. The Central Committee also emphasized Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's essential contribution to initiating and formulating the new measures aimed at increasing remuneration and pensions—measures that are part and parcel of the constant effort by the party and its secretary general to achieve a new quality in the work and life of all our people.

1. The plenum unanimously endorsed the proposals on the increase in remuneration of the working personnel in 1988-89.

Formulated on the basis of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's recommendations and guidelines and in accordance with the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and National Conference, the new measures on pay increase are of great political and social importance and are telling proof of our party's and state's constant effort to improve the standard of living of all working people, closely in keeping with the principles of socialist ethics and equity.

This increase clearly reflects the strength and vigor of our national economy and the profoundly humane and democratic nature of our system, as well as the correctness of the policy promoted by our party and Socialist Romania, a policy that was vigorously asserted especially in the wake of the Ninth RCP Congress and that focuses on man and on his well-being and happiness. This fresh pay increase is taking place when the world economy continues to show signs of stagnation and recession, a fact that brings about a deterioration in the standard of living of the working people in some countries.

A 10 percent pay increase is envisaged for the working personnel. This increase will begin on 1 August 1988 and will take place in stages up to the second part of 1989. The minimum base pay will increase from 1,500 lei to 2,000 lei a month, that is by 33 percent, thus being the highest pay increase in the years of socialist construction, while the average nominal pay throughout the economy will be 3,285 lei a month. This pay increase will benefit especially young people in their first years of activity.

By applying this pay increase almost 7,900,000 working people will benefit from additional incomes, which in 1990, when all working personnel will receive an increased remuneration, will amount to more than 29 billion lei. The total remuneration fund will thus amount to more than 300 billion lei; this represents an increase of five and a half times compared with 1965.

The plenum emphasized especially that the general increase in remuneration and pensions is taking place while stable prices of consumer goods, services, and in general of all products are ensured. At the same time, the pay increase will not entail an increase in rents or a decrease in children's allowances. By greatly increasing lower wages, the ratio between minimum pay and maximum pay throughout the economy stands at 1 to 4.70 compared to 1 to 5.35 at present and compared to 1 to 10 in 1965.

The Central Committee expresses the conviction that the measures for pay increase will stimulate the working people's collectives even more in completely fulfilling the plan indicators for this year and for the overall 5-year plan, thus ensuring—through great efficiency in the economic activity—a more sustained increase in the national wealth and income, a lasting basis for constantly improving our people's standard of living.

2. The plenum unanimously adopted the proposals regarding the increase in the state social security pensions and in pensions for disabled persons and for war invalids.

These proposals formulated upon Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's initiative demonstrate the party's and its secretary general's constant concern with continuously improving the well-being of all categories of citizens and with ensuring constantly better living conditions for the people who have worked in various areas for a long time.

Consequently, state social security pensions for work performed and old age, with a limit of up to 3,000 lei a month, will increase on an average by 8 percent, while the minimum pension of 900 lei will increase to 1,100 lei a month, that is 22 percent. The fund required for increasing pensions will amount to some 2 billion lei a year, while the total pension fund exceeds 35 billion lei, thus being 9 times higher than in 1965.

Through the application of the new measures for increasing the remuneration of the working personnel and of pensions, actually all those who have contributed and contribute to the fulfillment of the plans for our country's socioeconomic development and to the comprehensive progress of our homeland will benefit from increased incomes, thus implementing one of the important provisions of the programs for improving the standard of living in the 1986-90 5-year plan.

3. The plenum unanimously approved of and endorsed the assessments and guidelines included in the speech made by the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in connection with some international issues.

The plenum emphasized that our party's and state's foreign policy is fully in keeping with our nation's aspirations for peace, cooperation, and disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, with its aspirations for solving the serious and complex problems confronting mankind by peaceful means, and its aspirations for building a better and more just world, without weapons and without wars on our planet.

The plenum expresses the great appreciation of our Communists and all our people for Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's role and decisive contribution to formulating and implementing the foreign policy promoted by our party and socialist state. Serving with inexhaustible energy and patriotic devotion the vital interests of the Romanian people, the cause of building socialism and communism in our country, and of peace and international cooperation, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has affirmed himself in people's minds as a prominent figure of the present-day world, as a front-ranking militant of the Communist and workers movement, as a hero of peace, and untiring fighter for promoting detente, disarmament, security, understanding, and peaceful cooperation for the triumph of the ideals of the freedom, independence, and progress of all nations.

The plenum reaffirmed the determination by the Communists and all our people to do all they can to firmly promote the foreign policy of our party and state, and the initiatives and actions of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, devoted to peace and disarmament and to strengthening cooperation, security, and understanding in Europe and throughout the world.

The plenum supports and fully endorses Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's considerations and assessments regarding the exchange of letters between the RCP Central Committee and the MSZMP Central Committee in connection with the situation created in Romanian - Hungarian relations.

In the spirit of the consistent policy of cooperation and understanding promoted by our party, the plenum fully agrees with the initiative and proposal made by the RCP Central Committee regarding the organization of a meeting of delegations of the RCP Central Committee and the MSZMP Central Committee to discuss the situation that has been created in Romanian-Hungarian relations, following the unilateral actions undertaken by the Hungarian side, and to establish measures in order to eliminate this negative situation and ensure the further development of relations between our parties, countries, and peoples.

The Central Committee considers it as a very serious situation that after the exchange of letters between the two parties—which expressed the desire to discuss ways and means to improve bilateral relations—the Hungarian People's Republic continued to make statements and to publish all sorts of slanderous material about Romania's policy, and that new chauvinist, nationalist, anti-Romanian, and antisocialist manifestations appeared, some of them being organized with the approval or even under the aegis of the official party and state bodies in that country.

The Central Committee firmly supports the position expressed by the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in connection with these problems, and declares that our party and people reject and will always reject any attempt at interference in our domestic affairs and at violating international principles and norms, and the principles of relations between socialist countries.

The RCP Central Committee plenum assesses that it is in the interests of the two countries—Romania and Hungary—and in the interest of the socialist countries to immediately stop these profoundly harmful actions and to do everything so that Romanian - Hungarian relations may develop in the spirit of cooperation, trust, and good neighborliness, and on the basis of the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage, and on the basis of the other principles laid down in the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between Romania and Hungary and in other joint documents.

On this occasion, the Central Committee plenum reiterates that, in the spirit of its traditional policy of good-neighborliness, the Romanian people harbor sentiments of friendship toward the Hungarian people and express their conviction that the serious problems that have

arisen in Romanian-Hungarian relations will be overcome as soon as possible in the interests of both countries and peoples, and the cause and prestige of socialism, understanding, and cooperation.

In adopting new and important decisions designed to give a more vigorous impetus to the efforts of all our people in socialist construction and in raising their level of well-being and civilization in general, the plenum calls on the Communists, all working people, and the entire nation to act with devotion and self-denial, and in a revolutionary spirit to commendably implement the guidelines and recommendations made by the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to fulfill—at a qualitatively higher level—the plan tasks in industry, construction, and exports, to make sure that agricultural work is carried out under the best of conditions, and to unflinchingly implement all targets aimed at our country's socioeconomic development, and our party's and state's domestic and foreign policy.

Closely united around the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, let us do all we can to implement the historic decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and National Conference, to build socialism and communism on our homeland's soil, and to ensure Romania's more and more vigorous affirmation as a free, dignified, and prospering country among the ranks of world nations.

Deputies Speak at 29 June GNA Session

AU0707093088 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 30 June on pages 2, 3, and 4 carries three reports, ranging between 800 and 3,000 words, and 11 speeches, ranging between 600 to 800 words, by various deputies to the Grand National Assembly [GNA] session on 29 June 1988 in Bucharest. The three reports, totaling about 4,500 words, deal with draft laws that were eventually adopted by the GNA. The first, a 3,000-word report, read by Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu, is entitled "Report on the Draft Bill Regarding the Increase in the Remuneration of Working Personnel and on the Draft Bill Regarding the Increase in Occupational and Old Age State Social Security Pensions and in Pensions for Disabled People and War Invalids."

The second, a 600-word report, read by Elena Pugna, deputy chairman of the Industry, Economic, and Financial Commission of the GNA, is entitled "The Report of the Standing Specialized Commissions on the Draft Bill Regarding the Increase in the Remuneration of Working Personnel and on the Draft Bill Regarding the Increase on Occupational and Old Age State Security Pensions and in Pensions for Disabled People and for War Invalids" and deals in general terms with the importance of granting an increase in remuneration and pensions, at this stage of Romania's development, which is "completely in keeping with the objectives of the 13th RCP Congress and the party national conference." The standing commissions appreciate the new measures as "greatly significant" in the way in which they reflect "the firm application of the policy promoted by the party and state and of the principles of socialist ethics and equity," and they request the GNA deputies "to adopt this bill in the form it has been presented."

The third, a 600-word report, read by Ioan Salajan, chairman of the Constitution and Legal Affairs Commission, is entitled "Report of the Standing Specialized Commissions on the Draft Bill Regarding the Legal Status of Socialist Units on the Basis of Principles of Workers Self-Management and Economic-Financial Self Administration." The report emphasizes the positive sides of the provisions included in the bill as greatly significant for "establishing the responsibility of socialist units" as well as for "individual responsibility for people's own actions." The GNA deputies are called upon to adopt this bill as well.

The reported 11 speeches, totaling about 10,000 words, were delivered to the GNA session by deputies, some of whom hold ministerial or party positions. All the speeches deal in general terms with the draft bills regarding the increase in remuneration and pensions, emphasizing the merits of "Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in elaborating new and original theses" and expressing gratitude for "the permanent concern of the party and state and of the much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu with constantly increasing the material and intellectual well-being of all categories of working people."

Ioachim Moga is a candidate member of the Political Executive Committee, who speaks on behalf of the Cluj County citizens, presenting their achievements, thanking Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu for their constant care with the "continuous progress of our homeland," and expressing the view that the measures taken to increase remuneration "reflect the vigor and healthy character of our socialist economy."

Maria Flucsa, minister of light industry; Ion M. Nicolae, minister of chemical and petrochemical industry; and Ioan Toma, minister of youth affairs, also express in their speeches gratitude for the decisions to increase remuneration and pensions and give their full endorsement to the RCP policy.

Deputy Stefan Korodi is the only Hungarian ethnic whose speech is reported. In his capacity as secretary of the General Union of the Romanian Trade Unions, he speaks on behalf of trade union members expressing "gratitude for all the great achievements of our homeland" and pledges "to unflinchingly work to fulfill the plans for this year and for the whole 5-year period in an exemplary fashion." Neither Korodi nor any other speaker is reported mentioning the Romanian-Hungarian dispute.

Rural Development Yields 'Social Homogenization'

AU1307072488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0700 GMT 13 Jul 88

["Social Homogenization Under Way in Romania"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 13/7/1988—With 180 or so new industrial districts in all the counties of Romania as older ones were developed and modernized, and the emergence of four-five agroindustrial centres in each county, a solid basis was laid for social homogenization. In 1968, the year of the administrative reorganization, 34 counties turned out less than 40 billion lei worth of total production. Twenty years later, in 1987, all the counties had gone beyond that mark: 26 contributed less than 100 billion lei a year worth of production, with 15 making more than 100 billion lei. The ongoing five-year plan 1986-1990 makes provision for at least 80,000 lei worth of economic activity per capita in each county, a provision that has been fulfilled two years earlier than planned but for the counties of Botosani and Vaslui where this level will be attained next year.

A rational distribution of the forces of production in the territory and their balanced growth alongside a rising per capita production puts conditions in place for the full equality of rights of all the citizens of the country, whatever their nationality.

The unprecedented growth of agriculture to the point of changing into an industry is just another way to social homogenization in Romania. An important role on that line will be played by the rural planning measures—to be implemented in three phases ending in 1990, 1995 and 2000—and the formation of 558 agroindustrial towns each of which will have three satellite rural communities. The current five-year plan will see the completion of organizational work and the passage to the creation of agroindustrial centres. The outline of each agroindustrial urban centre must be completed by 1995 with the modern organization of all communes and towns due to end around the year 2000.

The new revolution in science and technology, and modern production have changed the substance of both manual and intellectual work, brought them closer to each other. In social terms, the activity of production workers is getting closer to that of technicians and engineers, it is more and more intellectual. A place apart in the deeper homogenization is held by the continuing improvement of the forms of distribution that aim at a better agreement of the level and character of the forces of production, the development degree of society and social relations, the satisfaction of consumer demands. The recent enactment of the pay rise measures will significantly contribute to social homogenization by reducing the lowest to highest pay ratio.

Documentary Evening Marks Treaty With USSR

AU0707183188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1743 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 07/07/1988—On Thursday, July 7, Bucharest was the venue of a documentary evening occasioned by the 18th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration, and Mutual Assistance between Romania and the Soviet Union, arranged by the Romanian-Soviet Friendship Association.

Addresses were made related to the significance of the event celebrated.

Present were deputy heads of section at the CC of the RCP, executives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of National Defense, party and state activists, men of letters, senior officials.

Treaty, Relations Praised

AU1207185288 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 7 Jul 88 p 5

[Al. Campeanu article: "A Solid Foundation for Developing Romanian-Soviet Relations of Friendship and Cooperation—On the 18th Anniversary of the Signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance Between Romania and the USSR"]

[Text] Today we celebrate the 18th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between Romania and the Soviet Union, an event of great importance in the development of relations between our countries and people. Enriching the provisions of the first Romanian-Soviet treaty signed in 1948, in accordance with the new historical conditions and with the level of socioeconomic development reached by Romania and the Soviet Union, the new document combines the experience accumulated in the mutual relations and expresses the will of the two parties and states to continuously develop Romanian-Soviet friendship, on the solid basis of the principles of complete equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage, and comradely assistance. The provisions of the treaty represent a continuation—at a higher level—of the long-standing traditions of friendship and solidarity between the peoples in the two countries and between their progressive, revolutionary forces which often assisted each other in the struggle for national and social liberation.

The current anniversary takes place under conditions when, in keeping with the specific characteristics of the two countries, both in Romania and in the Soviet Union broad constructive activity is being carried out, an activity that includes efforts and preoccupations to make use of the creative potential of socialism in all areas. Our people are making consistent efforts to implement the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and of the party

national conference and, at the same time, follow with vivid interest the efforts of the Soviet peoples to implement the decisions of the 27th All-Union CPSU Conference, which has opened up new prospects on the path of the socioeconomic development of the country.

The ascending course of the Romanian-Soviet relations, in the spirit of the treaty concluded 18 years ago, is a cause for joint satisfaction. As is well known, our country highly values the development of relations of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union, since this confirms the steady progress of Socialist Romania toward expanding and developing friendly relations with all the countries which are building a new system. Emphasizing this defining characteristic of the foreign policy promoted by Socialist Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said: "Our party and people highly value the Romanian-Soviet relations and we are determined to continue to do all we can in order to make these relations assert themselves to an ever greater extent, as an example of relations between neighboring and friendly socialist countries, which cooperate and collaborate actively in the struggle and in the work for the successful construction of the new system, for the cause of socialism, and for the triumph of peace in the world."

In turn, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev said: "We view Socialist Romania as a country that is close to the Soviet Union through its class structure and as one of our allies and comrades in the struggle for the common cause. We are firmly determined to do all we can to ensure that our cooperation becomes ever stronger and more fruitful in all spheres of activity."

In the process of continuously strengthening the friendly relations between our countries and peoples, a role of utmost importance has been played by the talks held and the understandings reached at the summit level, and the meetings between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev are greatly significant in this respect since these meetings have opened broad prospects for the relations between our countries and people. Within this framework, the Bucharest talks occasioned by the official friendship visit that Comrade Andrey Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium paid to our country in May and the understanding reached on that occasion mark a new contribution to the intensification of friendly cooperation.

As is well known, within the framework of the general Romanian-Soviet relations, a particular significance is attached to the economic cooperation, since its development makes an important contribution to the implementation of the development programs of the two countries. In this respect, the summit understandings provide for a more marked increase of economic relations and their prospects are defined in the Long-Term Program on Developing Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation Between Romania and the Soviet Union up to the Year 2000, signed 2 years ago by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev. This program stipulates the raising of cooperation to a higher level, mainly by intensifying cooperation and production sharing, particularly in the top industrial branches. Likewise, Romania and the Soviet Union are developing comprehensive cooperation within the CEMA, with a view toward implementing jointly developed programs. Cooperation in various fields of science and technology is being continuously developed and it contributes to the utilization, on an increasingly larger scale, of the latest scientific and technological discoveries in the economies of the two countries.

At the same time, we are expanding the exchange of experience at party, government, and parliamentary level as well as between mass and civic organizations in various areas of the socialist construction and in the field of culture and education; all these make possible a better mutual familiarization and strengthen friendship between the Romanian people and the Soviet peoples.

In the spirit of the provisions of the treaty, Romania and the Soviet Union are also cooperating in the international arena, with a view toward eliminating the nuclear threat, achieving disarmament, and ensuring peace. In this respect, our country presented various constructive and comprehensive proposals, meant to lead to disarmament and to safeguarding the people's right to peace and life. At the same time, our country hailed the signing and the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Our country emphasizes the significance of concluding an agreement on a 50 percent reduction of strategic, offensive weapons and the need to reach new disarmament agreements, aimed at a stage-by-stage elimination of the whole nuclear arsenal, at halting all nuclear tests, and at halting the militarization of outer space. In light of the proposals submitted by the Warsaw Pact to reduce troops and conventional weapons in Europe, the two countries are speaking out and working for the organization of concrete negotiations on this issue of greatest importance.

Likewise, Romania and the USSR are taking actions aimed at concluding the current Vienna conference with positive results; these actions should raise to higher levels the general European process of building security and broadly developing cooperation. As is well known, the Soviet Union supports the activity carried out by Romania, together with other countries, to turn the Balkans into a zone of peace, good neighborliness, and cooperation, free of nuclear and chemical weapons and free of foreign military bases. Through the activity they carry out in the international arena, Romania and the Soviet Union are making an important contribution to the struggle to find solutions to the major problems confronting our times.

On the 18th anniversary of the new Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between Romania and the Soviet Union, the Romanian people extend their

warmest greetings to the peoples of the Soviet Union and wishes for new and great achievements in the many-sided progress of their socialist homeland and in the implementation of the decisions adopted by the recent All-Union CPSU Conference; likewise, the Romanian people express the belief that the Romanian-Soviet relations of close friendship and fruitful cooperation will continue to develop constantly, for the mutual benefit and in the interest of the general cause of socialism and peace.

Belgrade Bread Prices Increase 28 Percent
LD1207091688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1525 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Jul (TANJUG)—The price of bread was raised 28 percent in Belgrade this morning. Only the price of low-grade bread made from type-850 flour remains the same. There has been no satisfactory explanation for the latest increase in the price of bread.

LCY Commission Debates Kosovo Cadre Policy
AU0607210488 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jun 88 p 3

[D. Bisenic report: "Differences Over the Same Thing"]

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Jun—At the meeting of the LCY Central Committee Commission for LC Development, the agenda of which included the topical question of ideopolitical, organizational, and cadre training in the Kosovo LC, the analytical material and the tasks of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee were added to the report. Some members of the commission did not agree with remarks included in these documents, and it was finally decided that these two documents should stand as statements of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, but not of the Commission, and that the Commission should redraft its own report.

Azem Vlasi said that the problems and difficulties confronting the Kosovo LC in its work lie in the powerful influence of the events of 1981 upon LC policy. Opportunism and petit bourgeois sentimentalism have been prominent. Moreover, there has been a tendency to a unity of outlook on the basis of national affiliation. Vlasi added that the basic LC organizations now carry the burden of action, but that between 1981 and 1984 this action was principally borne by the authorities and the leadership. The renewal of cadres has been carried out, but even though the number of newly-admitted workers has increased, the proportionate share of such members in the overall structure is falling.

Mihailo Pesic said that the "litmus test" of ideological, political, and practical training in the Kosovo LC is, in his view, the degree of its success in stopping the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, in encouraging emigrants to return, and in improving intranational relations. The proposed materials are generalized, insufficiently specific, and do not reflect the full extent of the real situation. I cannot accept the view that the LC has been mobilized and unity in action has been achieved, because "why then does such tremendous activity not yield the expected results?" Moreover, it cannot be held that all nationalisms are the same, since it came to the point of counterrevolution in Kosovo. Pesic considered that it is an open question why a number of ideopolitical measures that have been pronounced have failed, but intensive differentiation has been called for since the ninth plenum. Nikola Jovanovic said that if our activity is not yielding adequate results, and we claim to be properly trained, the people will not believe us and they will gather in Pioneers' Park [near the SFRY Assembly building in Belgrade] again. He said he could hear the words "of Comrade Bojanic spoken at the Serbian Assembly, that there will soon be nothing to say about the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, because there will not be any in Kosovo." Jovanovic expressed the fear that the plenum assessments, which will discuss the implementation of the ninth session and note what Yugoslavia has?done for Kosovo, will be devastating. Taking the floor once again, Azem Vlasi said that the subject of discussion was "admission policy, the social and national structure of membership, and measures enforcing ideopolitical responsibility," not the political and security situation. There is an increasing tendency to deny everything that has been achieved in Kosovo, Vlasi said, among other things. The situation is described as worse and worse. People stress that only Serbia meets its obligations toward Kosovo, but all responsibility is shifted onto the Kosovo LC. Vlasi asked why it was necessary to schedule a meeting in Kosovo Polje at the same time as the Kosovo LC Conference.

Although Ali Sukrija, chairing the meeting, attempted to end the discussion at this point, Dragic Jokic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Development Commission, took the floor. He said that work on the report had not been jointly done, as had been established in the conclusions, and that for this reason it was not a good thing to inform the Presidency that the work had been completed.

The proposal that the commission should pick up where it left off was put forward by Mica Jakovljevic, who said that a document of this kind is "neither fish nor fowl." It is not good for the Provincial Committee to give one conclusion, and then for the commission to add on "material."

Azem Vlasi took the floor for the third time, insisting that the document of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee cannot be thrown out, because this is against the statutes. "No single commission has the right to push material from a central or provincial committee into a corner." Vlasi said that we have not realized that the LCY Central Committee Commission has been preparing materials for the Provincial Committee or the LCY Central Committee.

Serbs Protest at LC Meeting in Kosovo Village
AU0407203688 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 30 Jun 88 p 9

[T. Neziri, N. Sadiku report: "Genuine Claims Must Be Distinguished From Intolerable Demands"]

[Excerpt] Pec, 29 Jun—At the gathering of Communists in Vitomirica that ended late yesterday evening, Communists discussed and sought the fastest possible solutions of many vital local issues. These genuine claims really do demand greater commitment from everybody

so that they can be settled. But there were also speakers who advanced intolerable demands, and there were emissaries present in the hall who are now familiar from single-nationality gatherings.

Xhumret Selmani, member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee; Svetislav Vukovic, member of the Presidency of the Kosovo Chamber of Commerce, and sociopolitical officials from Pec also took part in this gathering.

Ranks Must Be Purged [subhead]

In the course of the gathering, Misko Bulatovic joined the discussion and dwelt principally upon the problem of unemployment, a difficulty which, among others, is influencing the emigration of young people from this area. He then pointed out that loans could not be obtained from Bankkos, and demanded that this matter be solved, in order to enable peasants to start small farms and purchase agricultural machinery. Milivoje Lalovic pointed out this district's revolutionary tradition and emphasized that brotherhood and unity had been forged here. Yet the emigration of Serbs, Montenegrins, and Moslems is a highly serious problem calling for the fastest possible solution. Vidna Rakocevic, a veteran of 1941, stressed among other things that the ranks of the LC must be purged, and we must see who is in favor of socialism and who is an enemy. She then mentioned many leaders who, according to her, have brought the country to its present plight through their mistaken manner of leadership. She then demanded that our present difficulties be overcome, and that leaders should surrender their posts to new cadres who are fresh to the job. All those who have had a hand in the creation of the present crisis must leave their positions. Sefket Kukic dwelt principally upon solving unemployment, for there are some 1,200 people seeking work in Vitomirica, and if no industrial plant is constructed, they will emigrate.

Many speakers said that ideopolitical differentiation must be carried out more quickly, and in the workplace too, since differentiation is still not being pursued properly.

The speeches of Dusan Medovic, Ljubo Velovic, Vukajlo Djokic, Zoran Grulic, Radovan Radulovic, and Bulatovic (whose first name we did not manage to discover) included many unacceptable things that do not accord with reality. Among other things, Bulatovic said that the Albanians in Kosovo possess and enjoy more rights than the Serbs and Montenegrins. D. Medovic said that "It was all very cosy here during the colonization years, but there have always been problems since the liberation," agricultural cooperatives have usurped the land, and so forth. According to Ljubo Velovic, a pensioner living in Belgrade, the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins has its roots in the period immediately after the liberation, and, in his view, the SFRY Presidency is the main culprit for the situation that has arisen in Kosovo.

He advocated at the same time that all those cadres from Serbia who acquiesced in the approval of the 1974 Constitution must be called to account. Zoran Grulic said that he was disappointed at the gathering, because comrades from the presidiums of the SR of Serbia had not come, and comrades from the province had no need to come, because they already know our problems. Radovan Radulovic said that the activity of the irredentists was in no way being interrupted. According to him, the 1974 Constitution is to blame for many of the things that are happening. If the present constitutional changes do not succeed in making Serbia a state like all the other republics, he threatened that "We will then emigrate not to Belgrade, but to Novi Sad, because it is there that they are supporting nationalism and separatism in Kosovo." He proposed the formation of a group of five persons to take part in a meeting of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, to see that this matter is solved properly.

Hakia Osmanovic advocated more vigorous struggle on the part of all progressive forces against the class enemy and against nationalists of every hue, who are all equally dangerous. The most aggressive form of nationalism is that which meets no opposition. Statist and bureaucratic forces are exploiting the present situation to sow division among us. A number of speakers presented various personal problems and demanded that they be solved as fast as possible. [passage omitted]

Kosovo Serbs Hold Gathering in Obilic

AU0507173988 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 1 Jul 88 p 6

[R. Demiri, R. Tahiri report: "Familiar Scenario of Views, Demands, and Insults"]

[Text] At the gathering of citizens of the local community of Obilic the evening before last, in which more than 300 people took part and which lasted from 1700 until 0100 the following morning, views and opinions on the general situation in Obilic, Pristina, and Kosovo were expressed, along the familiar lines of previous gatherings in this area. Demands for the solution of the situation in Kosovo followed, and accusations and insults were leveled against a number of Kosovo cadres. There were demands for the truth of these accusations to be investigated, and for the appropriate measures to be taken. The speeches of two sociopolitical workers, Hazer Susuri and Muhamet Krasniqi, were noisily interrupted by provocations and insults from the hall, and a large proportion of those present even left the meeting when Muhamet Krasniqi took the floor. This meeting too can be seen to fit a familiar stereotype: Genuine problems were discussed, but there were also unacceptable views and speeches, and a detailed analysis of the entire course of the meeting would show whether it was a constructive meeting or not, and whether it helped stabilize the situation in the province or whether it encouraged further national polarization, national division, and the cooling of intranational relations.

When Local Communities Assess the Situation in the Province [subhead]

The meeting the evening before last in the local community of Obilic, which was attended by Milenko Markovic and Zivorad Djordjevic, members of the Serbian LC Central Committee, as well as by Petar Kostic, Hazer Susuri, Buda Vusic, and Muhamet Krasniqi, sociopolitical workers from Pristina and the province, discussed the general situation in the local community and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. This meeting, as Radule Bulatovic said in his opening speech, aimed to assess what has been done since the meeting of this local community on 30 April, to examine why there were delays in preparing this meeting, and why a meeting of Communists of this region is being postponed. According to the speaker, the people to blame for this are Adem Hashani and those in leading positions in Elektroekonomia, who have not even allowed people to have conversations and speak the truth, quite apart from their failure to take measures to solve the problems and overcome the situation in Elektroekonomia, whose woes are reflected in the general local situation. Bulatovic stressed that many things are being hushed up, including many things that the entire Yugoslav public has been told about, such as the petition of engineers and experts, the emigration of experts under duress, and many malpractices in many fields. Also, according to the speaker, the cadres that are criticized here merely climb further into leading positions in many bodies, in spite of citizens' dissatisfaction and opposition.

In the long and often emotional speeches of many participants, some of whom were also from other areas of Kosovo, there were arbitrary and one-sided appraisals of the general situation, and some aired personal problems. Jovo Djordjevic advocated harsher sentencing, because, he said, we cannot wait 30 years for the awareness of indoctrinated young people to change. Misa Popovic said that there is discrimination against Serbs and Montenegrins and that Serbs are forced to emigrate because they are defenseless. Radojka Micic said that "The leadership has made a sworn enemy out of the people." She demanded a total change in the national leadership because "If this does not happen, there will be no peace in Yugoslavia." Boro Savic emphasized that he had left the party in 1956, because he had seen that it could not be his party, considering who was at its head in Kosovo and Metohija. This speaker remarked that there are lignite reserves of 8.5 billion tonnes. However, "These are being hidden until times change." Savic also recited a poem. Milan Novokmet said that the separatist movement does not consist merely of a handful of people, and that "The leadership has not submitted to the verdict of the people; the separatists have succeeded in keeping their own cadres in office, who have infiltrated every institution, school, organization, and political forum from the communes to the federation." It is the 1974 Constitution that is to blame for the general situation in the province. This speaker claimed the Constitution was compiled by Dragoslav Markovic while he drank in bars with singers sitting on his lap.

Zoran Kostic was particularly distinguished for the extreme character of his views, and said that he would "accept no dialogue with the province, that Serbia will be the mere fiefdom [pashallek] of Belgrade as long as the province remains a constituent element of the federation, and that emigration from Kosovo will not stop." In his view, the removal of the name Metohija aimed to Albanize Kosovo.

Zoran Kontic, with the consent of those present, read out the letter compiled in Kraljevo which had been read out earlier by Olga Ranitolovic at the women's protest in Belgrade.

Zoran Kontic concluded by asking how it is possible that we cannot eliminate a handful of Albanian occupiers (siptarski okupator) ["siptarski" is a derogatory term for Albanian in Serbo-Croatian] in 8 years, when we succeeded in defeating a great fascist power in 4 years. His speech was often accompanied by frenetic applause from those present.

Let Us Agree What Should Be Done [subhead]

Milenko Markovic, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee, said in his speech that there would perhaps have been no need to hold this meeting if the agreement reached 3 months ago had been respected. However, those who should be doing the work and who enjoy our support are not doing anything. We must agree what we must do in the future, so that these meetings will no longer be a continual recital and repetition of problems and grievances. We must agree what must be done to change the situation, for do not imagine that we in the Serbian LC Central Committee are not aware of your worries. The assessments given by our leadership are no different from those given here. The main points are that emigration is continuing at an even faster rate, that the safety of individuals is imperilled, that intranational relations are deteriorating, and so forth. Let me honestly say that some speeches here did not sound good, and were unnecessary. We do not need anybody who plays games for their own sake, but must look at what it is that has brought us to the point of gatherings and petitions, for most of the demands made here are reasonable and acceptable. We must see what can be done at once and requires no investment, though without neglecting the development of the economy and the infrastructure, and, within this context, employment policy as well. We must stop complaining that citizens do not live in safety, for we can make sure that they do, and continue with a thorough process of ideopolitical differentiation. The constitutional changes in Serbia must also be carried out, because we cannot allow any further process of disintegration. Demands for the authority [ingjerencat] of the SR of Serbia throughout its territory are a precondition for normalizing the situation in Kosovo, Markovic stressed at the end.

The Policy of Brotherhood, Unity, and Equality Is the Only Option [subhead]

Muhamet Krasniqi, member of the Pristina SAWP Communal Committee Presidium, said in his speech that every issue must be concretely discussed and examined. Every authority in Kosovo is ready to help stabilize the situation and solve problems. The principle field of activity concentrates upon the struggle against Albanian nationalism and separatism and on halting emigration. In this, we enjoy the support of the entire country and of the SR of Serbia. After mentioning the tangible results that have already been achieved, Muhamet Krasniqi said that in the future too we must specifically and effectively organize ourselves and solve problems together, aiming at a policy of brotherhood and unity and at the equality of all peoples and nationalities. This speaker did not agree with the opinions expressed about the work of Kosovo leadership, did not agree that the separatists were allegedly in power in every body from the communes to the federation, and did not agree with certain calls for bloodshed, and that had to do with the so-called Albanian minority, a Serbian Kosovo, and so forth. We must all live together as equals, must have confidence in our leadership, must not take a pessimistic view, and must assess the situation realistically, because this is the only way in which we can make progress and overcome our difficulties. The constitutional changes will be carried out after a wide-ranging and constructive debate, without violating anybody's rights. Appropriate solutions will be found for everything, both in the republic and the province, within a framework of brotherhood and unity and togetherness.

Buda Vusic, secretary to the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Committee Presidium, stressed that he was ashamed of two things. First, he was ashamed because of certain exaggerated speeches that had been heard here, although he did understand to some extent that people were speaking emotionally. Second, he was ashamed at the fact that many things that had been said here are true. The idea has arisen that a politician can say something, in a way that ordinary people would not dare, and that nobody will take any great notice. For instance, people do not want to say who took part in the demonstrations, although they know these people perfectly well. Activity against the enemy was first of all mounted against groups that were on the point of undertaking destructive action, and later against those who helped them and others. It must not be forgotten that the enemy has chosen Kosovo as a point from which the whole of Yugoslavia can be destroyed. Buda Vusic said that differentiation has not been stopped, but is continuing, and will include everybody who deserves it. However, we must distinguish honest people from enemies and not tar everybody with the same brush.

Hazer Susuri, who spoke in the name of the provincial political aktiv, remarked that the situation is difficult and that emigration is continuing, but that we must be vigilant and not allow anybody to exploit our weaknesses. Nobody can be allowed to trifle with the fate of our peoples and nationalities. It must not be forgotten that there can be no stabilization of the situation without brotherhood and unity. He did not agree with the views expressed about Azem Vlasi and Kacusa Jasari, and spoke about their work and commitment toward stabilizing the situation, mentioning a series of tangible measures and deeds which they had carried out in the province in recent years. We are not satisfied with the situation as a whole and with all our results, but we will not rest in our efforts until we have entirely stabilized the situation. Hazer Susuri dissociated himself from some speakers who had called for bloodshed, saying that this is what the irredentists also wanted, and that our peoples had shed enough blood during World War II.

Emigre Albanians Intensify 'Subversive Activity'

LD0507225588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1835 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Text] Pristina, July 5 (TANJUG)—Hostile Albanian emigres of all currents have, particularly lately, been trying to intensify their subversive-propaganda activity against Yugoslavia.

By sending petitions and resolutions to various institutions in the world, they are trying to attract worldwide attention to the allegedly subordinated and inequitable position of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, assessed today the Presidency of Kosovo, autonomous province within the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia.

The emigres are intensifying their subversive activity against Yugoslav citizens of Albanian nationality who are temporarily employed abroad. The emigres do not refrain from using the most brutal methods and applying pressure in order to force them to take part in their dark activities.

It is necessary to heighten the efficacy of combatting enemy activity, the Kosovo provincial Presidency concluded.

The Presidency also believes that concrete steps should be taken to protect Yugoslav citizens abroad from attacks and pressure by hostile Albanian emigres.

Milosevic Asks Serbs To Return to Kosovo

LD0707174188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0953 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Kostolac, 6 Jul (TANJUG)—The crisis has had an exceptionally serious impact on us. The number of unemployed is alarming, investments in development are low, the development of agriculture has slowed, the birth rate is low, the number of people working temporarily abroad is enormous, the political system is inefficient and conservative, the position of science, education, health and culture is below the European average, and, finally, the counterrevolution in Kosovo has caused Serbs to leave their homeland. This was stated by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central

Committee Presidium, at today's celebration in the Kostolac mining and energy combine to mark the launching of the newly built 350-mw thermo-electric Drmno plant.

A lot of things need to be improved and this cannot be done by introducing small changes. For this reason, we are beginning to reform the economic and political system and, as you know, reforms are hard work, stressed Slobodan Milosevic.

Briefly dwelling on the great importance of this major energy project for the economy of the Pozarevac region, which has been neglected in many respects during the postwar period, Milosevic stressed that there would be a great deal of opposition by those who are on the losing side and who are threatened by this reform. We must be very precise in this matter, added Milosevic, not all of those who are well off today will be on the losing side. The reform will threaten only those who are living well at the expense of other people's labor, dignity, and interests.

Serbia needs the reform in order to ensure the economic development and the territorial and political integrity of those spheres of its life which are threatened today, said Milosevic, continuing his speech. In this respect, Serbia has no choice: it will either constitute itself as a republic and territorially and politically mobilize all the forces it has at its disposal for its economic and cultural development or it will cease to exist. We are talking here about a historic and not a political moment.

We are the only ones who bear respnsibility for the fate of this historic decision and for the fate of the future, stressed Milosevic.

With its present policy and the unity it has established, the Serbian leadership is trying to express the interests and sentiments of the people it represents and we are not going to make any concessions in respect to the struggle for these interests. Serbia has serious problems: economic, demographic, social, and cultural. It is also now threatened from the territorial point of view. We must, therefore, establish territorial integrity and the necessary legal-political authority for the republic's territory. It is not a discussion which is on the agenda, it is history, stressed Milosevic, adding that the endless years of slavery, occupation, concentration camps, tortures—the long difficult past full of wounds—are way behind us.

Serbia has managed to endure all this and now—almost half a century of peace and socialism later—it deserves to be free and peaceful and not to enter the tranquil and united Europe of the 21st cntury struggling for the territory, language, and even freedom of thousands of its citizens.

A lot of Albanian families live here; after all, people of non-Slavic and even non-Yugoslav origin live all over Serbia. Such is the fate of the country in the Balkans but, owing to its development and the processes of integration, other countries in the world will look like this more and more, said Slobodan Milosevic.

Progressive people, stressed Milosevic, and communists have always taken care to insure that historically superior, economically stronger, and politically more developed countries do not tyrannize and threaten the smaller and weaker ones. But let us be clear: The meaning of democracy, justice, and progress is not in smaller and weaker ones tyrannizing the bigger and stronger, even if an opportunity for this should arise due to historical circumstances.

The Serbs should return to Kosovo from Smederevo, Kraljevo, and also from other cities to which they moved, but they should also return to Serbia from Frankfurt and Vienna. They cannot help develop their country by building German and Austrian roads and hospitals.

If in the past we had to solve our economic and social problems by creating conditions for people to be temporarily employed abroad, this does not mean that it has to be like this all the time, Milosevic went on, stressing that the reform will require the brains and hands of the many who decided to go abroad. Milosevic especially called for the abolition of every kind of bureaucratic capriciousness and administrative barriers which prevent those who wish to return and work in their own country from really doing so and starting a job of some sort.

Slobodan Milosevic particularly emphasized the fact that 6 July 1941 was the eve of the uprising. A large number of young people throughout Serbia left their homes, schools, and families never to return. They did not set off on this journey toward uprising and revolution not to return, but with the intention to reach the end, the world they had dreamed of, learned about, and which they had started to create.

In the eyes of these people, who on the night of 6-7 July started their socialist and Yugoslav journey, we are bound to continue today, preserve Yugoslavia, and develop socialism, said Milosevic. All the other solutions outside Yugoslavia and socialism would mean a loss of freedom for the country and its citizens, and above all for the working class. [transmission interrupted, additional TANJUG parts not received]

Kosovo Serbs Call For Protest in Novi Sad

AU1107193888 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 8 Jul 88 p 6

[S. Popova, R. Tahiri report on SAWP meeting in village of Priluzje, Vucitrn Commune, on 6 June: "Unacceptable Views Alongside Genuine Problems"]

[Excerpts] At the meeting of the SAWP organization of the local community of Priluzje the evening before last, whose 6-hour debate considered the local political and

security situation and lasted until midnight, various genuine problems confronting local villagers were aired, and it was stressed that they must be solved if trust is to be restored in the authorities and if the local situation is to be stabilized. However, as has become usual at such gatherings of citizens, blanket judgments and unacceptable views about the situation in Kosovo and in the country at large were also heard, as well as various kinds of insults, abuse, and vilification aimed at communal, provincial, republican, and federal leaders. There were also statements that aroused the nationalist passions of those present. Especially outstanding for their radical speeches were "delegates" from Kosovo Polje and Obilic, who have now become regular participants in citizens' single-nationality gatherings. After their speeches, whose inflammatory phrases "kindled" the masses to cheers, they left the meeting without waiting for its end! Those present at the meeting shouted in support of the demands of some speakers that Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins should go to Novi Sad on 9 July, assemble at the railroad station at 0900, protest against the Vojvodina leadership!?, and demand that Serbia's demands for constitutional changes be accepted.

Rahman Dedaj, member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium; and Milomir Minic and Miroslav Markovic, members of the Serbian LC Central Committee, were also present at the meeting, apart from sociopolitical workers from the commune.

Two slogans in Serbo-Croatian were hung in the hall where the meeting was to be held: "We want constitutional changes if we are to stay in Kosovo," and "Long live the LCY." [passage omitted]

Branimir Andjelkovic from Velika Reka, who now lives in Pristina, said that there used to be 70 Serbian houses, two Romany Gypsy, and two Albanian houses in his village. Now, because of the constant and premeditated work of the irredentists, only 5 Serbian houses remain; the Serbs were forced to emigrate under duress, following the usurpation of pastureland, damage to fields, assaults, excesses, and so forth. Jovica Racic remarked that we can go on talking like this for weeks on end, but it will solve nothing. We must support the gatherings at Kosovo Polje and Obilic, and we must all go to Novi Sad on 9 July. I trust the Serbian leadership, but I do not trust the Kosovo leadership, this speaker said. Moco Stevanovic spoke about the alleged destruction of cultural treasures by the Kosovo Museum, and then spoke about the life of Albanian immigrants to Kosovo, who, he said, enjoy every assistance such as is not even given to Kosovo Serbs who emigrate to Serbia. This speaker demanded that what he called the "Albanian militia" be removed from here at once, to be replaced by "the Yugoslav militia." "This place has never belonged to the Albanians and never will, because we will never permit such a thing." Misko Popovic said that the largest number of signatories to the petition are here in Priluzje. According to him, the petition does not violate the rights of the Albanians, but merely protects the Serbian people. He demanded that all those who have held office hitherto should hand in their resignations. Discussing the constitutional changes, he said that the continuing existence of the Serbs in Kosovo depends upon them. We have the support of the Serbian leadership for these changes, and Serbia has never had such a leadership before. "Politicians such as Petar Stambolic, Tihomir Vlaskalic, and Drazan Markovic simply behaved as if drunk and did not act in the interests of the Serbian people, something that must never happen again, he said. ("That is right," and "Long live Milosevic!" were heard from the masses.)

The views of Randjel Nojkic from Kosovo Polje were exceptionally extreme. After remarking that meetings of this kind will not stop until the problems raised here are solved, he said that even comrades from Serbia do not meet with understanding here and can do nothing, as was evident at the recent Kosovo LC Conference. We should not say irredentist, but Ballist, fascist, and hostile. I cannot agree with the slogan hanging here, Nikolic said; we do not need constitutional changes, but a new constitution for Serbia, since the present proposals still make concessions to the provinces. There must be a single constitution, a single judiciary, and a single militia in Serbia. Expressing his view on the earlier speakers, Randjel Nikolic said that we must not moan, because fear has never been a Serbian characteristic. The Serbs have always been able to defend their interests and rights with courage, and they will do the same now. The entire people of Serbia and all honest people in Yugoslavia are with us. We demand freedom. Although I know that our trip to Novi Sad does not suit the Serbian leadership, I call upon everybody here to be at Novi Sad at 0900 on 9 July, to protest against the Vojvodina leadership that is pursuing a separatist policy and is not accepting the constitutional changes.

Zdravko Petrovic from Obilic said that the irredentists should be paid back in their own coin so that they understand the harm they are doing.

A worker from Elektroekonomia began his speech by saying: "Good evening, unfortunate gathering of second-class citizens." In other countries, people lose their heads for counterrevolution, but here it is the key to success. The people of the Vojvodina are with us, but their leadership pursues a different policy, he said. Tomo Vitorovic said that everything that everything that had been constructed in Priluzje had been built on land that had been taken from them, and had brought them no benefit. Sveta Popovic from Pristina said that it is clear why Serbs are emigrating from here, and it is clear too from the speeches at this meeting. The same assessments are always given, and the state always behaves as if the legal officer that prosecutes us is the same as the one who convicts us. Zlatko Ivic said there had been 200 excesses in the past 3 months, and no doubt the same number have gone unreported. In other words, 3 Serbs or Montenegrins are victims of assaults every day. This speaker also advocated going to Novi Sad on Saturday.

Shaban Gerguri's speech was met with whistling and was interrupted several times. He nevertheless managed to say that everything that we have achieved has been achieved by us all together, Serbs, Montenegrins, Albanians, and others, and that we must work together in the future too to overcome all difficulties. We must solve some problems according to plan, and ignore problems that do not in fact exist. Nor can we tolerate the witch hunt against certain cadres in Kosovo and beyond.

"They Will Not Understand in Vojvodina ..." [subhead]

Miso Lazic said that a fish rots from the head, and wondered whether the leadership were not ashamed to hear the laments of the people today. Then, talking about the constitutional amendments, he said that Serbia has become a federation within a federation, that some wish to reduce Serbia to beggary, that the provinces have more rights than Serbia and that it is being forgotten that the Serbian people is the bulwark of Yugoslavia and that Yugoslavia will stand firm as long as they do. Lazic said that from now on we must respond to every attack with an attack, and that we must settle accounts by paying back double.

Milomir Minic, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee, said that we will continue to come to these gatherings whenever we hear about them, without regard to whether this suits such and such a person or not, because this is the only way, through direct contact with the people, that we can learn the truth. But Kosovar cadres such as Kacusa Jasari should not be attacked, but should be offered support. Then one can see later how they have acted, and they can be judged on the basis of results. There is nobody who can convince you that the situation is better than it is, because you know best about this. You must not go to Vojvodina, for they will not understand, and they even accuse us, the Serbian leadership, of seeking to use Kosovo to solve the Serbian question. The Serbian leadership is determined to solve the Kosovo issue, and has tied its own fate to this question, to the constitutional changes, and to the economic reforms. If we have no success, we will resign, or the people will throw us out themselves.

In conclusion, the chairman, whose constructive intervention during the meeting enabled the gathering to avoid wrong turnings, and who prevented destructive speeches from dominating, proposed that Milomir Minic's speech should be included in the resolutions emerging from the meeting that will be sent to all the authorities.

Groups Arrive in Novi Sad

LD0907085288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0707 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Text] Novi Sad, 9 Jul (TANJUG)—A group of about 100 Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo arrived in Novi Sad today. Judging by events, they will be joined by other groups of citizens from Kosovo who are presently arriving at Novi Sad railway and bus stations.

This morning, they will be received in the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Conference, where talks will be held with representatives of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

Further Report on Protest

AU1207103588 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Jul 88 p 1

[V.M. and M.K. report: "Citizens Ask for One Serbia"]

[Text] Novi Sad, 9 Jul—The protest meeting of around 1,000 Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo who had come to Novi Sad to express their dissatisfaction with the policy of a part of the Vojvodina leadership ended today at about 1300. There were also several thousand Novi Sad people at the meeting in front of the Assembly building of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, who followed the protest by Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo with clapping and chanting.

The provincial leadership did not receive the Kosovo people who had reached Novi Sad early in the morning, nor did any of the provincial officials speak at the meeting.

The demonstration through the Novi Sad streets and the meeting in Marshal Tito Street took place peacefully and without incident. The procession of about 1,000 Serbs and Montenegrins and 100 residents of Vrsac and Odzak left the railroad station at about 0930 and moved toward the center of town, singing the anthem "Hey, Slavs" and carrying banners on which were written: "A United Serbia—our Destiny," "One power for all Serbia," "One Constitution—one judiciary," "We believe in the LCY."

The protest procession was loudly greeted by the Novi Sad people and many joined it in Marshal Tito Street.

Many Novi Sad citizens were unable to hold back tears when they heard the chants coming from the procession of: "A united Serbia," "We want freedom," "You are our brothers." Since the provincial leadership refused to talk to all those from Kosovo, Mica Sparavalo from Urosevac, a veteran of the first proletarian brigade, spoke from the square in front of the Vojvodina Socialist Autonomous Province Assembly building, and then after a short interval and after the electricity had gone off, Ilija Zivkovic from Vrsac spoke. Both the speakers were frequently interrupted by applause and chanting.

The meeting ended after the electricity had gone off for the second time.

At the end of the meeting Milosav Solevic thanked the Novi Sad citizens for their support and solidarity and then the Kosovo people returned to the railroad station and from there went on to Kosovo by train, bus, or car with the message: "We'll come back."

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Slogans and Banners [subhead]

The banners that the Serbs and Montenegrins carried in Novi Sad had the following written on them: "Let the people decide," "There have been enough victims," "One Constitution—one judiciary," "One power for all serbia," "A united Serbia—our destiny," "Our offspring will not forgive us," "Freedom, equality, constitutionality, legality, work, order, peace for everyone," "We believe in the LCY," "The loss of Kosovo—the disintegration of Yugoslavia," "A constitutional state for Serbia," and "A united Serbia—the certainty of Yugoslavia."

Offensive Slogans Carried

AU1207152188 [Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 11 July on page three carries a 1,500-word report by Branislav Gulan entitled "The Street Shows Its face, But No Face-to-Face" on the protest meeting of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins in Novi Sad on 9 July.

The report lists the following banners carried by the demonstrators: "Freedom or Carnojevic [Arsenije Carnojevic, Serbian patriarch who led an emigration of Serbs from Kosovo in the 17th century]"; "We believe in the LCY"; "Serbia—constitutional state"; "Documents on Kosovo—dead letter"; "Our offspring will not forget us"; "Together we are strong"; "The loss of Kosmet [Kosovo-Metohija]—the disintegration of Yugoslavia"; "Yugoslavia, Yugoslavia..."; "One Constitution"; "They have divided us enough"; "This is why it is like this"; "We don't want divisions, we don't want migrations"; "Brotherhood and unity—now or never"; "SAP [socialist autonomous province]—yes, state—no"; "Enough victims"; "Down with Radosavljevic and Krunic, up with Milosevic; "Down with the traitors to the Vojvodina people"; "Down with Krunic"; "Down with thieves"; "Serbian leadership will not allow Vojvodina's separatism"; "Come out to be tried by the people"; "Down with autonomy supporters"; "Backa and Banat don't want a republic, but Pecinci does"; "Provinces cannot be constituent elements of the federation"; "Down with armchair officials"; "You will be tried by the people."

Militiaman Intervenes in Demonstration

AU1207104288 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Jul 88 p 7

[Unattributed report: "A Spark"]

[Text] Just after the procession left from the railroad station, [a procession of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins in Novi Sad on 9 July] an incident happened which fortunately had no consequences. The Kosovo people in the procession were inviting the Novi Sad people to join them, shouting "Join us, brothers." One passer-by tried to do this but he was stopped by a militiaman. This was a big enough spark for the procession of Kosovo people which had hitherto been peaceful, to become agitated. With the intervention of people from the organizing committee and thanks to the composure of the security officers, everything ended quickly and without conflict.

Protest Stopped by Power Cuts

AU1307102588 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jul 88 p 6

[M. Karadzic report: "Vojvodina Executive Council and the Novi Sad Secretariat for Internal Affairs Demanded That Electricity Be Cut Off"]

[Text] Novi Sad, 10 Jul—The protest meeting of about 1,000 Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo who had come to Novi Sad yesterday was interrupted twice because of breaks in the electricity supply. We discovered today that on the orders of unknown people from the Vojvodina Executive Council and the Novi Sad Secretariat for Internal Affairs, the duty officer at the Novi Sad electricity power plant was forced to cut this part of the town off from the power grid. Because of this, this part of the town also had no water.

Had this incomprehensible event not occurred, Novi Sad people would have had the opportunity, like the entire Yugoslav public, to hear, not only the old soldier and Partisan Medal holder Mica Sparavalo and Ilija Zivkovic, a highly qualified worker from Vrsac, but also other statements of witness to the counterrevolutionary activities of Albanian separatists and the sufferings of the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples in Kosovo.

The Novi Sad people would certainly want to know who were mysterious individuals from the Vojvodina Executive Council and the Novi Sad Secretariat for Internal Affairs expressly who requested that the electricity be cut off in that part of the town where the meeting was being held. The first power cut was at 1237 and the second at 1254. We found out about everything that happened to the electricity yesterday from today's duty officer, Dragoljub Malbasa.

Malbasa told us that the log that is kept daily—as written yesterday by his colleague—says that "he had to cut off the electricity because of intervention, that is a request from the Vojvodina Executive Council and the Novi Sad Secretariat for Internal Affairs."

So the meeting was interrupted for the second time by "a higher power" and the bitter Kosovo people and numerous Novi Sad people started to disperse from the Vojvodina Executive Council building in Marshal Tito Street. They went to the railroad station and from there travelled home by train, bus, and car.

They left the meeting and Novi Sad in a dignified way without causing any trouble.

There were several attempts at destroying the basic idea behind the protest of the group of citizens but they themselves energetically succeeded in preventing them and did not allow them to have undesirable consequences. The Kosovo people showed that they had not come to Novi Sad to "realize any aims," as some people thought and feared, but to present the actual problems with which they are faced.

The Novi Sad people received them with open hearts and arms. The Kosovo people responded with dignified behavior.

We did not manage today to discover who had given the order that the Kosovo citizens be stopped on the highway and made to identify themselves. After all, someone must have ordered that.

Reaction to Novi Sad Protest Begins

Vojvodina SAWP Communique

LD0907205788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1346 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Text] Novi Sad, 9 Jul (TANJUG)—"In contravention of all agreements and despite our clearly expressed reservation, a large group of citizens from Kosovo Polje and other municipalities of Kosovo have arrived in Novi Sad in order to achieve aims known only to their organizational committee," it is stated in today's Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Conference communique.

"Immediately after their arrival in Novi Sad, representatives of the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial conference expressed a readiness to receive and hear in the provincial conference a number of representatives of this group of citizens. This proposal was rejected by members of the organizational committee, thus demonstrating their different intentions. It turned out that the main aim of their arrival was not to put forth realistic problems they were facing, but to disturb the public in Novi Sad, Vojvodina, and even further afield. The responsibility for such an act, as well as the contents of slogans which were heard, is borne by those who inspired and organized this arrival in Novi Sad."

"The Novi Sad citizens observed in a dignified manner the procession of demonstrators walking along the streets of Novi Sad. They did not join in nor were they taken in by provocations in the form of slogans and shouting by members of the procession," the communique states.

Belgrade SAWP's Tomic Comments

LD1107234988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1322 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Jul (TANJUG)—The arrival of Serbs and Montenegrins in Novi Sad on Saturday was yet another expression of the deepest indignation over their own situation. This view was expressed today by Dragan Tomic in an introductory speech to an extended session of the Belgrade SAWP City Conference Presidium, at which a report on recent arrivals of citizens in the capital was discussed, as well as further activities on changes to the Constitution. Tomic assessed the attitude of some of the provincial leadership toward people from Kosovo as a "demonstration of provincial bureaucratic despotism", which is accompanied, as he said, by the attribution of the same labels used by separatists from Kosovo.

In a discussion which is underway, assessments were made from the perspective of a city which recently welcomed groups of dissatisfied workers and citizens in a different way. Sharp criticism was expressed about the fact that the Vojvodina leadership did not hold talks with the citizens from Kosovo, that they were met by a proclamation about disturbing the public, demands to show their identity cards, and obstacles caused by power cuts.

Serbian Officers Discuss Actions

LD1107195588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1451 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 11 Jul (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the reserve military officers of Serbia thinks that a statement by the Vojvodina SAWP provincial conference on the arrival of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo in Novi Sad is wrong. This was stated today in a session of this forum. The arrival of these people in Vojvodina, it was said, is not a manifestation of nationalism. Their needs and difficult lives forced them to take this step. That this is so is also proved by numerous people in Novi Sad who supported the action of Serbs and Montenegrins in their town. [passage omitted]

The Kosovo federation of reserve officers is working to uncover attempts at counterrevolution by Albanian nationalists and to carry out a differentiation among its ranks, it was said at the session. In this connection, proceedings against 71 reserve officers have begun in the court; 8 reserve officers have been demoted and more than 60 other steps have been taken. [passage omitted]

Lieutenant Colonel General Djordje Novosel was today elected new president of the Serbian Federation of Reserve Officers Presidium.

DELO Criticizes Serbs' Visit

LD1107164888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1412 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Ljubljana, 11 Jul (TANJUG)—The arrival of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo in Novi Sad is without precedent. What happened was that the inhabitants of Kosovo who want their republic to have greater influence in the province and the province and its organs to have fewer powers, went for the first time into a locality outside Belgrade, says DELO in its issue today in connection with the arrival of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo in Novi Sad last Saturday.

For this paper's commentator the objective of their visit to Novi Sad is clear: "To influence the Vojvodina provincial leadership not to insist on the current role of the province and in the 'haggling' concerning changes in the Constitution of the Soviet Republic of Serbia to give way to Serbia's demands that this republic should be made equal with other republics in Yugoslavia. This means that the interpretation and the practice of some of the present functions of the provinces within the Soviet Republic of Serbia should be curtailed".

Branko Podobnik, the author of the text, goes on to note that "the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, who undoubtedly live under the pressure of Albanian irredendists, mainly blame the 1974 Constitution for their predicament because it had, allegedly, given the provinces great autonomy". "The visits by groups not unlike the one to Novi Sad last Saturday," the author goes on to say," or the intimated visit to Ljubljana and elsewhere, cannot at all contribute to a sober, politically wise, and realistic way out of the current situation. Objectively speaking, such visits represent pressure and extremist views emerge which logically provoke opposite extremist views. Whipped up political and national passions cannot be a wise ally or adviser in the solution of such important issues", says DELO in conclusion, at the same time criticizing the "smearing of individual high officials".

Vojvodina SAWP Discusses Actions

LD1107192588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1503 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Novi Sad, 11 Jul (TANJUG)—We believe the problems of Kosovo did not arise in Vojvodina and cannot be resolved on the streets of Novi Sad. The same applies to changes in the Constitution: They cannot be carried out by putting pressure on and manipulating the people and their troubles. This was said today at a session of the Vojvodina SAWP city conference Presidium of Novi Sad, in a discussion on the arrival of a group of citizens from Kosovo last Saturday in the capital of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina.

It was the discussion participants' unanimous view that the Kosovo situation must be energetically changed but it was also emphasized that no part of the SFRY may be destabilized by using, as a justification, the Kosovo counterrevolution. Discord and disagreements in the Socialist Republic of Serbia must be resolved in the spirit of the stances taken by the 13th LCY Congress, the 10th Serbian LC Congress, "the party conferences of the provinces, and the recent LCY Conference."

Presidium members believe the incident in Novi Sad is unprecedented and that individuals cannot make assessments about Vojvodina, Vojvodina leaders, and circumstances in the province—it is these very people, from the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, who are called upon most to do this. It is vital that fuller information be supplied to the public about the essence of events last Saturday, Dr Ljubomir Cerovic believes. He adds that what lies behind this behavior is "in fact the destabilization of political conditions in Vojvodina, and it is not by chance that this happened on the eve of the debate on constitutional changes."

In Dr Miladin Mirilov's opinion, these demonstrations should be utterly condemned. In the delegation of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo there were also those who have no contact with this province but who are declared to be open nationalists. The intention was more to create a crisis than to improve both relations and the situation. Hence, such events should not be accepted, especially in Vojvodina, which from the first day has clearly and openly expressed its standpoint on events in Kosovo, condemning irredentism—something that is not being acknowledged now.

The presence of proven nationalists among Kosovo citizens, it was said in the Presidium session, can only be explained as an attempt to sow the seeds of discord among members of the nations and nationalities of the socialist autonomous province of Vojvodina. Citizens of Novi Sad, however, did not go along with the provocations or with the offensive nationalist slogans. This behavior by citizens of Novi Sad shows that the organizers and sponsors of the trip there were wrong to say that thousands of Novi Sad citizens would join the procession of demonstrators and that disturbances and incidents would occur, it was stressed at the session.

The Presidium sees the fact that the people's afflictions are manipulated in the political struggle as worrying, as are the attempts to destabilize Vojvodina politically—Vojvodina, where brotherhood and unity is most highly esteemed. Thus, there must be discussions of this incident, everything that preceded it, and its consequences, at the forthcoming session of the serbian LC Central Committee, the participants of this meeting concluded.

More From Vojvodina SAWP

AU1207161288 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Nikola Bulatovic report]

[Text] The march of Serbs and Montenegrins in Novi Sad did not intend to present to the Vojvodina public and the public at large the troubles they face in Kosovo, but to exert pressure, without precedent in our political practice, on Vojvodina and its leadership and to extort unacceptable constitutional changes, above all a change of the present position of the provinces in the federation guaranteed by the Constitution. This assessment of the events that occurred in the Vojvodina capital last Saturday was heard at the session of the Presidium of the Provincial Conference of the SAWP of Vojvodina today. Nikola Bulatovic reports from Novi Sad:

The political leadership of Vojvodina will very quickly present to the entire Yugoslav public the proper and whole truth on the march of Serbs and Montenegrins in Novi Sad. This was said at a session of the Presidium of the SAWP Provincial Conference today. Such a hurry is understandable primarily because, as it was said at this gathering, speculations are made and this event is falsely presented to the public. It was an event that had wide repercussions and that disturbed the political scene in the province.

Here is what Djordje Milutinovic, president of the Provincial Conference Presidium, said among other things:

[Begin Milutinovic recording] A group of citizens, Serbs and Montenegrins, from one sociopolitical community—the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo—at their own initiative and despite our clear dissociation in this respect—arrived in another sociopolitical community—the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina—for the purpose of destabilizing the situation, discrediting its leadership, and calling on the people who elected this leadership to replace it or to force it to accept under duress the proposed constitutional changes in the Constitution of the SR of Serbia, which are yet to be publicly discussed in regular democratic procedure. [end recording]

The first assessments and the first views on the Kosovo march in Novi Sad were heard at the session of the Provincial Conference Presidium today, and judging by them, the political leadership of Vojvodina entertains no dilemmas and no quandaries regarding the aims, the nature, and the political consequences of the event. All the participants in the discussion were united in their view that the march in Novi Sad in its nature was a pronounced political demonstration.

This was pointed out, among others, by Janko Drca, secretary of the Presidium of the LC Provincial Committee, who added that democracy of the street and of the mob are at work, and there is pressure that the present position of the provinces should be radically changed through changes in the Constitution.

Jovan Cikic of Pecinci conveyed the protest of people of Pecinci and Srem against the banner carried by the Serbs and the Montenegrins which read, Banat and Backa Do Not Want a Republic, but Pecinci Does.

Jovan Srnka, president of the Novi Sad SAWP City Conference, asked where Dragan Tomic, president of the Belgrade SAWP City Conference, gets the right to call the provincial leadership to task. According to this logic, Srnka says, Valjevo may put us on the carpet tomorrow. (Trifun Doru) considered that the protests of Serbs and Montenegrins in Novi Sad were an attempt to turn Vojvodina into a Kosovo, but it would be better for Kosovo to turn into a Vojvodina. Ivan Kovac stated that Vojvodina no longer believed the stage tears of Serbs and Montenegrins.

Speeches by some people of Serbia's leadership in the past few days encouraged the Kosovo people to make the move they made, Branislav Milovanovic said. He added that they came not to talk but to lecture.

Ida Sabo drew attention to the spread of lies and insinuations, to labelling, to any kind of means being used, and to questioning the achievements of the revolution, which all leads to a destabilization of the situation not only in Vojvodina but all over the country. She noted with concern that some prominent leaders avoid the name of Josip Broz Tito even on solemn occasions when they speak about the uprising. She considered that the committee which proposed a reexamination of Comrade Tito's historical role in Belgrade was another attack on the Yugoslav Revolution.

The SAWP Provincial Conference Presidium was also acquainted with press reports on the events in Novi Sad. It was said that it reported with pronounced regional accents.

'Campaign' From Serbia Had Been Anticipated

AU1207115688 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jun 88 p 3

[Z. Serences and S. Stojanovic report: "We Accept the Enforced Political Battle"]

[Text] Novi Sad, 28 Jun—In decisionmaking about extremely important issues concerning the socialist autonomous provinces, a precedent has been set and this precedent is not based on the Constitution of the SR of Serbia or on the LCY documents. This was stated today by Mojsa Miljkovic, the opening speaker at the session of the Section for Sociopolitical System of the Republican Conference of the Vojvodina SAWP which discussed the draft amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia.

Miljkovic said that strength must be found to find a way out of the present situation, and recalled the history of criticisms of the socialist autonomous provinces' position, ranging from the "Blue Book" to the present time when, as he said, many people are giving advice not only about what kind of socialist autonomous provinces we should have, but also whether we should have them at all. The majority vote—used in voting on the draft amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia—Miljkovic said, represents the method of work on the constitutional amendments that is not in accord with the stances of the LCY Central Committee, nor with the LCY Conference, because these prescribe a joint work.

He also spoke about contentious issues in the republic such as national defense, state and public security, the role of the presidencies regarding the above mentioned matters, criminal-legal protection, and relations among supreme courts in the republic. He said that the proposals on these issues really exceeded the framework of the proposals of the Serbian Assembly for constitutional changes because they exceed the existing powers of the republic, which hinders the working people and citizens of the province in realizing their sovereign rights.

Miljkovic also reproached the remarks made in the press that the members of the Serbian Constitutional Commission from the provinces only proposed things that should be taken out of the Constitution, that they did not favor a solution to these issues, and that they only commented on their impressions about the atmosphere in the coordination commission: "The mood to find a solution to the expressed differences did not really exist because we were only asked to accept what was proposed, and our views were not discussed because of the alleged shortage of time...."

Condemnation of Politicization and Divisions [subhead]

The first participant in the discussion, Miroslav Francuski, member of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium, stated the known views of the Vojvodina party organ on these issues: that the framework, content, and essence of constitutional changes in Serbia are clearly set by the decision of the Serbian Assembly; that the joint work on finding an accord should continue; that all forms of expressed politicization, and even pressures and attempts to establish majority vote in order to force a solution, be condemned.

"In fact we recently encountered such a form of politicization, an attempt at playing the card of national divisions and clashes in Vojvodina," Francuski said.

As if the Croats, Montenegrins, Macedonians, Hungarians, Slovaks, Romanians, and others have one view on these changes, while Serbs hold a completely different view. These differences are not seen because they are allegedly artificially ironed out by the bureaucratic and separatist leadership of Vojvodina. We must resolutely oppose the imposition of such divisions because we above all care about stable intranational and human relations. This only points to the fact that recently some people did not care what means they used in order not to let Vojvodina "open its eyes" and resolutely participate in constitutional changes with its clear and free views.

"The status of a province cannot be changed against its will," Todor Gajinov, president of the Vojvodina Constitutional Court, said, stressing that this has in fact been challenged at various forum discussions. Experience, according to him, shows that these forum discussions are beginning to look like some kind of a battle for the "Serbian national program," that they are used for holding discussions about the "Serbian national question" under the guise of discussions on constitutional changes in the republic. He said that the theses about the inequality of the Serbian nation in the SFRY are being continually offered, but that they could lead to suspicions: How can the numerically largest nation in Yugoslavia not be equal? According to Gajinov, the demands made at such forum discussions very quickly receive an official character and therefore present themselves as some kind of "vox populi."

The President of the Constitutional Court drew attention to unacceptable demands such as those heard at the recent Kosovo LC Conference, namely that the consolidation of the situation in Kosovo is hindered by alleged separatism in Vojvodina.

Threats by the People [subhead]

"We must persist with our views because we are not empowered to do anything else at present," Djordje Radosavljevic, member of the Vojvodina Presidency, said, stressing that there are no major differences with the Serbian Assembly's proposal for constitutional changes, but that they are in fact emerging because of deviations from that proposal. We are also faced, as he said, with calls for some proposals expressed at numerous discussion forums to be taken as the basis of constitutional changes. When we pointed to the unacceptability of this, Radosavljevic said, the comrades from the SR of Serbia said: Let professors speak....This now means that we were not told the truth before. So, not only that we face proposals that exceed the framework of the adopted proposals for constitutional changes, but also threats by the people, on whose behalf untruths have been presented.

Now, Radsavljevic said, one part of SR of Serbia is threatening another part of Serbia. Is the republic not authorized to protect the interests of this part of its territory? If one of its parts is threatened, is the SR of Serbia not threatened too? This could only be done by somebody who regards everything as exclusively his power and role, somebody who thinks that he himself can bring fortune to the people, rather than the people themselves.

If we compare what is being said at present with what had been advocated by the Serbian bourgeoisie between the wars, with what the Serbian national movement and the reactionary church strove for, with the content of the memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, then, Radosavljevic said, there are not significant difference, and this must be clearly said in order to make it clear who supports what. What happened, Radosavljevic asked, so that today even some Communists hold this kind of view? A question above all questions is whether they will become the slaves of these views, because, if this is the case, then we would have to abandon the basic solution to national relations in Yugoslavia and revise these relations. But this does not mean

that Yugoslavia will cease to exist. What will depend on this is whether Tito's Yugoslavia will exist since the Serbian nationalists, jointly with other nationalists, are destroying it.

We are being threatened, Radosavljevic said. People are being organized to hold a protest here. Solevic is organizing, if not a group, then a delegation to ask for the people's support—against the leadership that is allegedly separatist. They, and all those who support them, want to make another Kosovo here, and the one that wants the power, is not choosing the means.

They want to divide us in order to rule us. This is what is being prepared for us. Of course, this is not said publicly, but is said through slogans that confuse the people. But we must explain them because we did not want to get involved in a political battle, but now have to accept it regardless of the fact that deep down we are not pleased with it.

Radosavljevic also stressed that "in our republic, we must defend the honor, integrity, dignity, and freedom of Vojvodina people in Serbia. What is at question is the defense of not only honor and equality, but also the revolution," Radosavljevic concluded, adding with bitterness that "he knew that the leadership of Vojvodina would be subjected to an unprecedented campaign from Serbia which will undoubtedly aim at the distabilization of Vojvodina. And this campaign has already started."

Dr Mirjana Pajvancic, Stipan Kopilovic, and Dobrivoje Radic also took part in the discussion.

Kopilovic drew attention to the great responsibility of the Serbian Assembly in considering what the outcome of the public debate is going to be, because if, as is said, "force or pressures are exerted and different interests not respected, then the public debate is pointless."

Talking about the amendments that are not the result of joint work and compromise, Dobrivoje Radic said that here is no national reason to reject all alternatives. He was in favor of alternatives being incorporated in the draft amendments and receiving an equal treatment in the offered text.

JEDINSTVO Criticizes Krunic Comments

LD1107213988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1533 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Excerpts] Pristina, 11 Jul (TANJUG)—In a commentary on past protest marches by Serbs and Montenegrins to Novi Sad, the Pristina daily "JEDINSTVO" in tomorrow's issue writes that they "had clearly shown that they did not come to disturb the public, as was said in a statement by the Vojvodina SAWP provincial conference." [passage omitted]

The Vojvodina officials' opinion was not long in coming. As soon as Kosovo people returned home, at a meeting in Prahovo a day after a meeting in Novi Sad, Bosko Krunic, LCY Central Committee Presidium member, presented a "view" of the arrival of Kosovo people in Novi Sad, "JEDINSTVO" writes, citing Krunic. The paper concludes:

"The LCY Central Presidium member did not mention a single problem of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, or the destructive activity of Albanian nationalism and separatism, or the causes for the slow realization of the Ninth LCY Central Committee Plenum's concusions. Following this logic, did he think it unnecessary to mention which nationalists came to Novi Sad? The presence of several individuals who clearly declared their views and who both people from Kosovo and Vojvodina kept at a distance does not mean it is possible to give the entire meeting a tone of "nationalistic songs." It is difficult to believe, after everything that could be seen and heard during the Kosovo people's stay in Novi Sad, that such a distorted image of events and people could reach the top echelons in Vojvodina.

The kind of "bringing of people to Vojvodina to seek Serbian support and agreement" that Bosko Krunic is talking about is really not clear, "JEDINSTVO" writes. As far as we know, Kosovo people did not divide Vojvodina people according to national affiliation. Why does the LCY Central Committee Presidium member do this? The people gathered because of unity, to jointly solve problems. Kosovo people know too well what division on a national basis and separation according to national affiliation mean. It seems to us that they made this clear through their slogans and speeches in Novi Sad as well. Some people, it seems, did not want to understand them," the "JEDINSTVO" commentary concludes.

Smole Criticizes Media Reporting of Events

LD1007203388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1202 GMT 10 Jul 88

[Text] Titovo Velenje, 10 Jul (TANJUG)—The activists of the Slovene war-time liberation front in the Sostanj-Mislinja region held a traditional gathering today in Titov Velenje to mark the revolutionary achievements of this mining region and to pay tribute to those killed in the national liberation struggle. The prewar social and political dissatisfaction culminated on the eve of World War II to develop into a widespread revolutionary movement during the national liberation struggle. The number of those killed reached 733. As many as 49 Liberation Front regional committees operated in the region in an organized way.

Joze Smole, president of the Slovene SAWP Republican conference, spoke at a large rally which was attended by several thousand people from the region and by Liberation Front activists, former members of partisan units, Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] members, young people, and pioneers.

Having noted current socioeconomic developments, stressing the fact that we are facing a new phase in the crisis in Yugoslavia, he noted "the aggravated ideological clash in the overall public discussion on possible constitutional amendments. This shows the diverse interests in our Yugoslav society."

"The Slovenes entered the Yugoslav socialist community of equal nations and nationalities as a sovereign nation. We want to go on developing that way, constantly gaining the ability to contribute to a faster development of socialist self-management and a nonaligned Yugoslavia."

Joze Smole also asked why—and in whose interest—a distorted picture of and prejudices over Slovenia have been created and mistrust sown about everything happening in or coming from our republic.

"There is no doubt that the biggest responsibility for this is borne by those who, with tactless public statements and lack of knowledge about the actual state of affairs and factual circumstances, give unsupported lectures from afar, making judgments from outside about everything that is happening in Slovenia or what, in their opinion, should be happening. Great success in this vein has been made by specific media, which exaggerate every attack or irresponsible action by individuals, using it to depict the general situation in Slovenia. A case in point—and recently such cases have not been few—is the portrayal of individual irresponsible brawls, insults to YPA members or to other nations and nationalities. These unfortunately occur not just in Slovenia but throughout Yugoslavia, and the whole Slovene public has resolutely denounced them.

"Part of the press has created an extremely negative, one-sided and tendentious mood against Slovenia and toward developments in our republic. The result is that under these false and warped impressions, citizens from other Yugoslav areas, whose sons had come here to do their national service in Slovenia, are worried. They contact us, asking what on earth is happening here, what awaits them here. This picture has nothing to do with the true state of affairs in our republic or the true feelings of our people. It is people's irresponsible actions that manipulate the public this way."

Smole asked whether the creators of such impressions were aware of the serious and far-reaching consequences. "It is not easy to remedy the mistrust injected in this way into the nations and nationalities. Where is common sense, ethics in public statements, and—especially—responsibility?" he asked.

"Media in other parts of Yugoslavia have also depicted the recent cultural meeting in Ljubljana in an utterly tendentious way. Some people even went so far as to claim that fascist manifestations had occurred in this meeting. We resolutely denounce such lies. We warn the authors of these reports that their conduct is undoubtedly directed against the interests of our Yugoslav community, against mutual trust, against fraternal cooperation between Yugoslavia's nations and nationalities on the basis of equality. Of course, we have nothing against a critique of individual events. However, each critique must be cogent and respect the facts. To exaggerate individual excesses during marginal social events is extremely irresponsible. We totally refute and denounce the insinuations in specific Yugoslav environments that the current politicosocial events in Slovenia are similar to the nationalistic 'mass movement' in Croatia in the seventies. Such comparisons have no foundation whatsoever. In Slovenia, we are advocating large-scale action by our citizens to renew our society, to build modern socialism in which the workers genuinely determine the results of their work and become genuine protagonists of political power," said Smole.

Macedonian SAWP Discusses Albanian Demands

LD1107214288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1420 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Excerpt] Skopje, 11 Jul (TANJUG)—The Macedonian SAWP Republican Conference Commission for Intranational Relations today considered questions initiated by a group of citizens of Albanian nationality from villages around Kumanovo during their visit to the Yugoslav and Macedonian assemblies. The commission stated unanimously that this group took these steps in an organized and premeditated way and with political goals prepared in advance. In the background as organizers there are people who act from a position of Albanian nationalism and separatism and it is expected that this will be confirmed in the near future.

Over the last 2-3 years in Kumanovo there have been several examples of the group manifestation of Albanian nationalism and separatism, the organisers of which were later discovered. The claim that Albanian separatists are behind these visits to the Yugoslav and Macedonian assemblies is supported by the fact that the group stressed as the main thing the problem of the demolition of the high walls [around their houses] and sought the annulment of the decision of the Kumanovo Municipal Assembly; but at the same time, and with the same severity, the group spoke of the alleged inequality of the Albanian nationality in the municipality, the abolition of Albanian language classes for secondary school students, the use of place names for inhabited and uninhabited places, and about the names of new-born babies of Albanian nationality and their registration in the register of births, deaths, and marriages and about alleged discrimination against members of the Albanian nationality in connection with employment. [passage omitted]

Orozen Comments on Nature of Labor, Strikes

AU1107190488 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Gordana Jedjovic report]

[Excerpt] As we have already mentioned in the headlines, the Presidium of the Council of Trade Unions of

Yugoslavia is currently discussing the first topic on the agenda, the proposed standpoints on the starting basis for the reform of the economic system and social program. Prior to the discussion of this topic, Marijan Orozen, president of the council, briefed the members of the Presidium about the topical situation in basic associated labor organizations and strikes. Gordana Jedjovic reports:

The events that have taken place in the last few days force the trade union organization to adopt a new attitude toward the newly expressed problems, Orozen stressed. The workers' dissatisfaction in the country is intensifying, becoming organized, and could be branded as a very sharp reaction by the workers to the sluggishness in the implementation and postponements of reforms as well as to the inability and lack of readiness on the part of management in many associated labor organizations to understand the essence of the present situation and the inevitability of the development orientation.

The workers' visits and gatherings pointed to this in the sharpest possible way, Orozen stressed. This year there have been fewer strikes than last year, but they have been much more intensive. They have been taking place in large organizations and have been completely public. It is clear that the workers demand resolute moves toward reform whose aim is to make basic associated labor organizations less dependent on the centers of power. We in the trade unions organization have been analyzing the mood and the situation, but have not reacted. There is no organized social action self-managing or other measures, above all cadre measures. Work stoppages cannot be explained only by the dissatisfaction with the material position. There are also political demands, demands for the reform of the political system. Common to all work stoppages is the indivisible support of Tito. This is encouraging, but could be interpreted as an attempt to separate Tito from other current leaders.

During the Borovo workers' visit to Belgrade, a proclamation was read in which people were called to come out to places of liberation [slobodarska] on 27 July. This call should not be underestimated, nor should these gatherings be prevented, but we should strengthen the contacts between the trade union organization and its membership, Orozen stressed. [passage omitted]

LCY Commission Discusses Propaganda Work

LD1107220388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1358 GMT 11 Jun 88

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Jul (TANJUG)—In today's political struggle no one can afford to renounce the work on propagating their goals and methods; at the same time, however, owing to developments in the means of information and their penetration into every aspect of life, no one can develop propaganda activity on untruths. This was stressed today by Milutin Milenkovic, in an introductory report at a session of the LCY Central Committee's Commission for Information and Propaganda activities with the "Character and Role of Present-Day Propaganda in Developing Socialist Self-Managing Society" as the main topic of discussion.

The situation and necessary changes in the sphere of theory and practice of propaganda activity in our society were analyzed over a 12-month period by the commission's working group. As a result, a document was produced which will be submitted to all LC organs shortly. Explaining the document, Milenkovic said that the attitude to truth—even if the truth is unpleasant—should not be sacrificed in order to reaffirm propaganda work.

During the debate, in which at times propaganda was discussed in terms of propaganda work by means of the public information media, it was stressed that propaganda activity should be based on facts and the results it produces. It must never become an attempt to deceive or manipulate with honorable motives behind it. Often, it was said, bad propaganda work has destroyed what took a lot of effort to create; often our work on promoting our most important goals has been inadequate. Good-quality goods will remain in storage unless there is a good marketing policy, Franc Setinc said, illustrating the situation.

The absence of a long-term program is behind the lack of organization in the sphere of propaganda. This was one of the views expressed today. According to another, the shortcomings in propaganda work could be found in the inadequate work of relevant bodies in the municipalities. These bodies become active only when local interests are threatened and they have to protect them.

Attention was also drawn in the debate to the fragmentation in propganda work and to its effects on our propaganda activity directed toward foreign countries. According to a number of those who spoke, this is an area which calls for increased attention and for more dignity.

The document is criticized for failing to devote enough attention to the need for providing adequate material-financial conditions for daily newspapers. There is no real editorial policy if the main preoccupation is with the budget.

Not many of those who spoke noted that propaganda is much more than just newspapers and that professional and expert teams are needed to advance it.

Vlajko Krivokapic emphasized the shortcomings in the work on preparing party meetings, especially the LCY Central Committee and drew attention to the lack of propaganda work on the part of the LCY in promoting its own standpoints.

Continuing its work the commission adopted, without much discussion, the platform for informative and propaganda activity in implementing the standpoints of the LCY conference.

Jovan Lakicevic said in his introduction that few editorial boards use this exceptionally important gathering of Yugoslav Communists to harmonize their program and editorial concept with the conference's clearly-stated ideological messages. This kind of attitude, which under some other circumstances could be described as irresponsible, cannot and should not be allowed at present. At the same time, Lakicevic said, instead of creating a flexible and working atmosphere in which existing differences can be gradually overcome, we are faced with the situation in which the press has become deeply polarized.

The role of the press in creating awareness of the need for fundamental economic and social changes and for urgent and decisive action in all units of society is today very big and almost crucial. However, some sections of the press have completely ignored the conference's standpoints to make room, Lakicevic said, for haphazard, extensive, and tactless coverage of the so-called excessive events and cases such as the so-called Slovene syndrome, demonstrations by the workers of Zmaj and Borovo, protest meetings, and the movement of people from Kosovo.

In this context, Lakicevic said that Communist journalists must not become slaves to territorial or national interests nor should they propagate local patriotism, self-sufficiency, and selfishness.

Speaking about workers' protests, Lakicevic stressed that both the political structures and editorial boards should be aware of the fact that there will be no economic or social reforms if antireform concessions are made at every step. Editorial boards should differentiate between the quite understandable human sympathy with collectives and individuals in difficulties on one hand and inevitable sacrifices and efforts which have to be made to make the reform succeed on the other hand.

The best way to help the workers in a difficult situation is, in addition to providing them with comprehensive analysis and explanation of the situation in their collectives, by advising them to refer their grievances to the right places, to their own collectives and municipalities, and only then to provincial or republican bodies. It sounds ironic, but the way it has been done so far has in fact had a stimulating effect on the escalation of workers' dissatisfaction by pointing to the possible effects, methods, and ways of going about it. The message seems to be that all "unsettled accounts" and even unrealistic demands should be simply submitted to the top organs in the federation in full view of the entire Yugoslav public if the desired effects are to be achieved.

LCY Presidency Discusses Increasing Strikes

LD1207143588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1319 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, July 12 (TANJUG)—Strikes are undoubtedly Yugoslavia's number one question today and it is for this reason that the Presidency of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee decided here Monday that the issue should be tackled by the Central Committee at one of its first sessions this autumn.

Participants in today's session of the country's top party leadership—the first devoted to work stoppages—said that when the economic policy measures had been adopted it was known that their implementation would not go easily and without social upheavals. However, the growing number of strikes and increasing fierce expressions of dissatisfaction and revolt by the working class outside the factory grounds clearly indicate that some social factors, including party organizations and organs, did not tackle the task with the expected readiness and responsibility, they said.

The 23-member party Presidency said the latest workers' protests in different parts of the country showed that work stoppages were no longer primarily motivated by low wages, but by overall dissatisfaction with conditions in the country.

The League of Communists will undoubtedly have to make a more detailed analysis of the causes and consequences of the strikes. But what is needed at this moment, however, is primarily action by the party and its more pronounced presence among the workers, as well as preventive and timely action and determination of responsibility, it was pointed out.

In the assessment of the LCY CC Presidency, it is crucial not to allow any retreat from the course of the economic reform—which has no alternative—because of the fear of social upheavals.

The workers are seriously warning that the managements have betrayed their role. They are not against the reform but against distortions—it was said at the Presidency session.

The Presidency urged the earliest possible adoption of social policy measures aimed at securing a degree of supportability in implementing the economic reform.

It was unanimous in that solutions should not be sought by coming to the Federal Parliament in Belgrade, which "cannot promise what has not been earned."

In this context, it was also said that the League of Communists should do more to unburden the economy, curb budget expenditures and similar. [sentence as received]

Orlandic on 'Threatening' Social Tensions

LD1207221388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1502 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Niksic, July 12 (TANJUG)—National consensus on basic questions does not exist in Yugoslavia because more or less everyone is leading their own policy disregarding the implications on the overall situation in the country, League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Presidency member Marko Orlandic said at a Niksic political gathering last night.

Orlandic addressed that the federation organs in Yugoslavia's multi-national community of six republics and two autonomous provinces did not manage to react and overcome behaviour which stimulates divisions and prevents the implementation of reform effectively and on time.

He underscored that the consistent implementation of reform positively affected the calming of social tensions which are increasingly expressed and threatening throughout the country.

If the reform is not implemented the crisis in the country will deteriorate further with unforseeable consequences to internal stability, socialist self-management and the country's independent and non-aligned position, Orlandic warned.

Orlandic assessed that the LCY had become an obstacle for democratic processes in society because it was increasingly taking on the characteristics of a sectarian-bureaucratic party which is shown by the fact that there are almost no political organs, except in Slovenia, whose members are not LCY members as well.

Whether the recent party conference, which opted for reform, will mark the start to resolving the crisis and whether this generation of the leadership will relieve itself of the burden that it is greatly responsible for the crisis depends on our behaviour, Orlandic said.

Speaking about the situation in Kosovo, Orlandic underscored that the continued migration of Serbs and Montenegrins from the province had become a drama of conscience and responsibility.

Albanian chauvinists and separatists are active in Kosovo, an autonomous province which forms part of Serbia.

The situation in Kosovo is creating great concern among all Yugoslavs and leaves the impression that some citizens are left to the mercy of opponents of the system and country, Orlandic pointed out. He urged decisively preventing the actions of Albanian chauvinists and separatists.